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Bonn keeps a low profile on the Gulf crisis



Should anyone have imagined Bonn might be able to mediate in the Gulf war, the Federal government itself has dispelled any such illusions.

The way in which it played down the one-day visit to Bonn by Foreign Minister Velayati of Iran, stressing what Foreign Genscher termed the Bonn government's strict neutrality in the war between Iraq and Iran and taking the greatest care to balance relations with the belligerents, permits only one conclusion.

It is that Bonn is only too happy to let anyone else who feels so inclined to pull the chestnuts out of the fire; it certainly has no intention of doing so.

There may be occasions, in the world at large, when Herr Genscher dons the mantle of the grand master, lending diplomats less adept at finding the felicitous phrase a helping hand at, say, the UN in New York.

Back in Bonn he prefers to maintain a low profile, lying so low that the neighbouring French, groaning under Ayatollah Khomeini's crescent moon, barely notice him.

He can hardly be blamed. Bonn would be biting off more than it could chew if it were, for instance, to style itself the last Western country with which Iran was on speaking terms now America, Britain and France are no longer in the mullahs' good books.

The Federal Republic of Germany has none of the utensils of power in the Middle East, no aircraft carriers or destroyers in the Persian Gulf. All it can be is a booster station for goodwill and a country ready to help if the worst comes to the worst.

The Soviet Union has in contrast discreetly but effectively demonstrated how influence can really be gained in what undeniably is difficult terrain.

Moscow has been largely out of the running for decades in the Middle East, seeking in vain to draw attention to itself via plans to hold a fresh Middle East peace conference.

Yet it has now gained a fair amount of ground. Mr Gorbachov had some basis for offering to cooperate with the United States in the Gulf for the sake of peace (an offer President Reagan turned down).

Appearances are, as so often, deceptive. While the world assumed it to be a clear fact that Iran would never again hobnob with the Kremlin, Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov skilfully upheld Soviet interests on his recent visit to Teheran.

Russia, for centuries the arch-enemy of all Iranian rulers, is still on talking terms with the ayatollahs even though it has lent Iraq military support in the Gulf war.

Sadly, that is more than can be said of the Americans — and not just since Robert McFarlane's secret mission.

Iran has only itself to blame for continuing to appear to be the bogyman of the region.

It has blotted its copybook with its ideologists' blazing speeches, its demonstrative xenophobia and its sending of child soldiers into battle with Iraq — laying it wide open to a poor Press.

These are the reasons why the UN Security Council's peace resolution is basically anti-Iranian in tenor even though it does not expressly say so.

By rejecting the UN resolution (the Iranian Foreign Minister said it was unjust for failing to name Iraq as the aggressor), Teheran has added a further stroke of the brush to its detrimental image in the West.

Events in connection with the Franco-Iranian war of embassies paint a gloomy enough picture already.

By a stroke of irony the Teheran street where the French embassy is under siege bears the name of Neauphle-le-Château, the French town where Khomeini spent years in exile.

Yet who now remembers that it was the Iraqis who started the war with Iran that has now been waged for seven long years? America's latest naval demonstration in the Gulf will hardly help to clarify the situation on this point.

No-one can object to the right of innocent passage being assured for merchant shipping (and German oil shipments) in this way.

Yet the tanker convoys strike a further anti-Iranian chord even though the Iraqis have been more to blame for the danger to shipping, as the Americans themselves were painfully reminded by the Iraqi missile that knocked out the *USS Stark*.

One can but be happy that this US commitment, although not expressly endorsed by the UN Security Council resolution, is at least lent atmospheric encouragement by it.

Bonn Voreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) with the Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, who was visiting Germany. (Photo: AP)

The Americans stand a chance of casting the US Navy in a peacekeeping role in the Gulf — providing they succeed in ridding their armada of the anti-Iranian and the anti-Soviet sting US Defence Secretary Weinberger would like to give it.

The US Navy cannot, on the other hand, hope to maintain the low profile British and French naval units operating in the area enjoy. The waves of propaganda have long been riding far too high in the United States for that.

It might be more worthwhile trying to widen the consensus on which the UN Security Council resolution is based.

It calls on both belligerents to withdraw forces to their respective borders, ignores the issue of guilt and assigns to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar a mediating, peacemaking role befitting the UN.

At present the United Nations cannot hope to accomplish much more than perhaps to put a damper on the conflict.

Amazingly and gratifyingly, the five permanent members of the Security Council have succeeded in arriving at a joint approach to the situation, a fact that forfeits none of its significance when their different interests are more closely examined.

The differences, which might be said to be mainly tactical in nature, have been outweighed by the realisation that no-one can hope to make headway alone in the Middle East.

The morast into which the Shatt el-Arab marshes between Iran and Iraq have been literally transformed can figuratively be said to engulf everyone who is so forward as to set foot in it.

All concerned are reluctant to take the second, decisive step. It was clear while the resolution was being drafted that agreement would not be reached on sanctions, which alone would have given the resolution any real cutting edge.

The powers that have so solemnly called on Iran and Iraq to bury the hatchet are the countries that export most arms to the area.

No-one seems willing to risk imposing an embargo on arms shipments, doubtless partly because arms dealers would find their way round an embargo in any case.

Iran, on which a de facto embargo has already been imposed, is proof by way of its constantly acquired fresh supplies of arms and equipment of what good a further, formal embargo might do.

That leaves hopes that the political pressure exerted by the UN resolution might have some effect. Bonn, for instance, does not see Iran's rejection of the Security Council resolution as Teheran's last word on the subject.

Some progress would have been made if the resolution were only to contribute toward a scaling-down of each side's view of the other as an enemy.

And if headway were to be made in the Gulf, other regional conflicts that weigh heavily on the world might also be defused.

Gerhard von Glinski
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 July 1987)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

New initiative gets Geneva talks moving

Days before Mr Gorbachov's latest double zero offer the chief US delegate at the Geneva disarmament talks, Max Kampelman, complained that the talks between the superpowers were marking time.

The Soviet Union, he said, was to blame. It was constantly adding new obstacles to agreement.

The Kremlin insisted, for instance, on retaining 100 longer-range intermediate nuclear missiles in Soviet Asia instead of eliminating this missile category entirely, as the United States was willing to do.

The Soviet leader's latest proposal brushes this obstacle aside. It also invalidates Mr Kampelman's complaint that the Soviet Union was only prepared to accept a worldwide zero solution if the Americans vacated their forward nuclear bases in the Pacific.

General Secretary Gorbachov specifically said that the Soviet Union was not linking "this initiative with the issue of the US nuclear presence in Korea, the Philippines and Diego Garcia."

He limited himself to voicing the hope that the Americans would at least not boost their fighting strength in these locations.

Last but not least, he offered to settle for worldwide zero terms in respect of shorter-range intermediate nuclear missiles, a category Moscow had also initially proposed to retain in Asia.

Mr Gorbachov's initiative is doubtless aimed at impressing the Soviet Union's Asian neighbours, such as Japan.

They had complained that if zero terms were agreed in Europe part of the Soviet missile capacity would be transferred to Asia, merely increasing the threat to their own territory.

Not for nothing did Mr Gorbachov make his latest proposal on the anniversary of his 1986 Vladivostok speech outlining an Asian-Pacific peace plan.

Yet his initiative is no less important for Europe. Might it lead to a breakthrough in Geneva?

The objection that the Soviet leader is given to outlining in speeches and interviews enticing prospects that are a far cry from what Soviet delegations are prepared to offer at the conference table holds no weight this time.

The Soviet Union promptly tabled the substance of Mr Gorbachov's latest proposal at the Geneva talks. A spokesman for the White House nonetheless sounded a sceptical note, saying:

"We have seen statements with positive Soviet responses in the past — only to discover that unacceptable strings were attached."

Yet what could be unacceptable about a proposal that takes into account not only US demands but also objections raised by America's allies?

Sad to say, for the experts the question does not arise in terms that are this simple.

Mr Kampelman mentioned the 100 INF missiles Moscow proposed to keep stationed in Soviet Asia — and two other obstacles.

One was the Soviet objection to converting missiles to shorter ranges, an idea of which some Western strategists are enamoured as a means of retaining at least part of Nato's nuclear capacity.

The other was the demand for the Bundeswehr's 72 Pershing 1a missiles to be scrapped, which brings the Bonn government into the picture.

Both Bonn and Washington have hinted that the German Pershings might be scrapped if need be, but Mr Kampelman repeated the opposite viewpoint, which happens to be official policy in Bonn.

The Bundeswehr's Pershings were, he said, third-state systems — like the British and French nuclear deterrents — that were not at the superpowers' disposal or, for that matter, their proposal.

This is not strictly true, or not the whole truth. The Pershings' nuclear warheads are kept under US lock and key, so Washington could well negotiate where they are concerned.

Even more food for thought is provided by the foreign policy impression created by this special role of Bonn's, a role described by *The Times*, London, as follows:

"The West German government insists that as these belong to Bonn they should form no part of the superpower treaty."

The implication is that the Federal Republic is blocking progress on disarmament, which is surely the last thing we need!

The Bundeswehr'sa Pershings would long ceased to have been a bone of contention had not strategists in Washington been reluctant to part with them too.

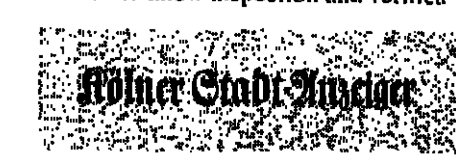
Mr Kampelman's accusation that the Soviet Union had slipped in at the last minute the demand for these missiles to be scrapped too, thereby proving itself to be obstructionist, can be reversed.

Whenever the Soviet Union, since Mr Gorbachov took over at the Kremlin, has agreed to Western demands either the United States or Nato has tabled other demands that must, the West has argued, be met at the same time.

The list of concessions Mr Gorbachov has made is lengthy.

Until recently the Russians insisted — not unreasonably, many might feel, — on British and French nuclear potential being included in any disarmament provisions.

For decades the Russians staunchly refused to allow inspection and verifica-



tion of disarmament in the Soviet Union.

Both hindrances have now been set aside, as has the dispute over the 100 remaining Soviet LRINF missiles, without Western counter-concessions being made in return.

Those who feel so inclined may arrive at the triumphant conclusion that the West has only to stand firm long enough, as it did on Pershing 2 and cruise missile modernisation, and the Soviet Union will be forced to climb down.

An entirely different conclusion can also be reached. It is that there is bound to be a limit to the number of Soviet positions Mr Gorbachov can concede.

In Moscow, as in Washington, there are strategists who have a professional dislike of any move toward disarmament.

The latest Soviet offer must, of course, be critically examined. But it would be fateful for the West to condemn a Soviet leader to failure who, as in Mr Gorbachov's case, has evidently been prepared to run a serious personal risk for disarmament's sake.

Hans-Werner Kettenbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 24 July 1987)

Vienna delegates head home — with still a lot to do

The Helsinki review conference in Vienna was due to end this summer. Instead, the 35 CSCE delegations packed their bags for the summer recess only.

Providing the conference climate stays stable a number of details will be clarified by the end of July to ensure swift progress when the conference is reconvened in mid-September.

If the CSCE talks, which have been more or less tiredly marking time for months, are lent fresh impetus by America and Russia signing a medium-range missile agreement in Geneva, the final document, agreed as always by consensus, might hopefully be approved by the year's end.

It would include, in addition to agreement on a number of expert gatherings, the go-ahead for conventional arms control talks on disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Even though it may be much more than a reflection of relations between the world powers, the Helsinki process is destined to be dependent on the overall climate of world affairs.

As it hardly seemed advisable, with agreement in the offing in Geneva, either to go firm on a CSCE compromise in Vienna or to put the tensile strength of the thread of the Vienna talks to the test again, CSCE delegates in the Austrian capital have been largely busy throwing pebbles into the water and watching the ripples they cause.

Yet a measure of initial success has been achieved out of the limelight of public proceedings. Since the Vienna conference began on 4 November 1986 agreement has been reached on a number of cases of humanitarian hardship — without much fuss, discreetly and on the basis of contacts established as part of the Helsinki process.

In other respects the situation is unchanged, with the East giving priority to security issues and the West attaching importance to progress on all three baskets of issues mentioned in the Final Act and the 1975 Helsinki accords.

The Nato states have finally got round, after lengthy procedural disputes among themselves, to tabling their proposal for a conference on conventional disarmament throughout Europe.

Providing the East agrees, once progress has been made in Geneva there should be two rounds of CSCE talks next year:

— a continuation of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building measures and disarmament in Europe (at which initial agreement was reached on verification by means of on-the-spot inspection)

— and separate talks between Nato and the Warsaw Pact on a mandate for conventional arms control.

Moscow, with the goodwill effect in mind, would like to include the neutral and non-aligned countries among the 35 CSCE states in these talks.

But it should be prepared to accept that security issues of this kind can only be negotiated between the pacts, especially as the interest shown by the neutral countries varies widely, Switzerland for instance showing virtually no interest in taking part.

The Vienna preliminary talks on a conventional arms control mandate have shown how complex conventional disarmament will be. Invasion capability involves not only the quantity of weapons but also their deployment.

Does Mr Gorbachov feel he can afford to withdraw the greater part of his elite divisions from the GDR? Does the Soviet proposal to include theatre nuclear weapons in the talks not make sound sense?

If the *force de frappe* is as much as mentioned in an aside, the French will stay away from a conference they helped to initiate. Conventional arms control talks will certainly be more protracted than the superpowers' Geneva talks on nuclear forces.

The prospects look none too good at present for Mr Gorbachov's comprehensive conference on humanitarian cooperation.

The Kremlin already seems to have climbed down a peg or two; during Herr Weizsäcker's visit to the Soviet Union mention was merely made of a meeting to discuss issues relating to the third, or humanitarian affairs, basket of Helsinki accords.

Paris strictly refuses to discuss human rights in Moscow. The French feel it would be more appropriate to discuss human rights at a conference held in Paris in 1989 to mark the bicentenary of the French Revolution.

In other respects the Eastern attitude toward third basket issues at the Vienna review talks does not yet reflect the stated Soviet policy.

All told, six to eight expert gatherings are envisaged in Vienna, in addition to agreements on cultural institutes, travel easements and scientific exchange, before the next Helsinki review conference is due to be held.

Bonn and Prague are under consideration as the venue for a CSCE conference on economic affairs, or second basket issues, while Britain has offered to host an expert conference on information.

The part to be played in security and cooperation in Europe by the new media in the communications sector has been suggested as an item for discussion.

Italy has proposed to hold an expert conference on science, while Paris and Bonn propose the holding of a festival of modern art.

The Polish proposals to hold a symposium on the European cultural heritage in Cracow has supporters, including the two German states, but does not yet enjoy consensus approval.

The United States and Canada still see this idea as cultural tourism for historic monuments officials. Yet successive Washington administrations have been persuaded that the Helsinki process amounts to more than such superficial considerations.

Are not America and Canada members of the team of architects who helped to build the common European house of a shared European identity on old foundations?

Udo Bergdoll

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1987)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Premier leads poll campaign from a hospital bed

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Schleswig-Holstein's Christian Democratic Prime Minister Uwe Barschel had everything lined up: the Kiel regatta before the summer recess, then the Schleswig-Holstein music festival with stars from all over the world and, finally, the state assembly elections on 13 September.

But the best-laid plans can be upset and he is still in hospital with a badly fractured hip after a plane crash at the end of May and is unlikely to return to the fray until the last six weeks of the campaign.

With the best will in the world Social Democrat Björn Engholm, a strong Opposition leader, will not be able to postpone his campaign until Herr Barschel is back in business.

That adds a further uncertainty to an already uncertain election outcome. No-one feels able to forecast what difference Herr Barschel's physical absence from the campaign fray will make.

The Christian Democrats have based their entire campaign on their leader, the Prime Minister, and no-one anywhere near his equal is available to bridge the gap.

Yet even before the plane crash, in which three people died, the pundits were largely agreed that the election outcome was more uncertain than it had almost ever been since the war in the northernmost *Land* of the Federal Republic.

Schleswig-Holstein has always been a CDU stronghold. Only once, in 1979, did the SPD, led by Klaus Mathiesen, now Agriculture Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia, come close to wresting power from the Christian Democrats — jointly with the Free Democrats and the Danish minority.

This time the CDU and the SPD can be little more than a hair's breadth apart. Will the FDP, which four years ago failed to poll five per cent, make a state assembly comeback this time now it has switched allegiance to the CDU?

Will the Greens poll five per cent and gain admission to the state assembly in Kiel? How well will the latest crop of independents fare, mainly counting on the votes of dissatisfied farmers?

None of these questions can be answered until the votes have been counted.

Besides, voters in Schleswig-Holstein have never been entirely predictable. Surprises can never be ruled out between the North Sea and the Baltic, a part of the country where people have minds of their own.

The CDU may have headed the *Land* government for the past 37 years, but Schleswig-Holstein voters have been known to prefer the Social Democrats in a general election.

They did so seven years ago when Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss stood as CDU/CSU Shadow Chancellor — and failed to oust Helmut Schmidt in Bonn.

So uncertainty reigns supreme in the run-up to state assembly elections that could be a clearer pointer to voters' preference countrywide than earlier polls in Hamburg and the Rhineland-Palatinate.

If Herr Engholm were to wrest power from the CDU in Kiel (and even CDU supporters feel he has the makings of a fine Premier), a trend would have been set.

The Social Democrats somewhat prematurely referred, after their recovery at the polls in Hamburg in May, to the trend toward the CDU/CSU having been reversed. An SPD victory in Schleswig-Holstein would prove them right.

That is one possibility which makes the Schleswig-Holstein elections nationally significant. Another is the two leaders, Uwe Barschel and Björn Engholm, facing each other at the helm of their respective parties for the second time.

Four years ago the SPD polled 43.7 per cent, its best showing since the Second World War, under Herr Engholm's leadership.

Brash Herr Barschel and the more pensive Herr Engholm can both look back on a meteoric rise to political leadership.

Herr Barschel took over as Prime Minister at the age of 38 and was the youngest holder of the post. Herr Engholm was made Education Minister in Bonn by Helmut Schmidt in 1981; he had just turned 40.

Both, but especially Herr Engholm, now rank among their parties' national leaders, trailing only the grand old men.



Premier Barschel . . . State CDU has no one else comparable. (Photo: Werek)

Their poll showingin September will be of crucial importance for their future political careers.

So there is no shortage of tension in a *Land* that seems to many, when viewed from down south, to be little more than a patchwork of fields and meadows between sandy beaches, with small towns dotting the interior.

Schleswig-Holstein has all these features, but there is more to it than that. It boasts considerable regional differences that don't make it any the easier to govern.

The marches along the North Sea coast to the west are flat and green, with sandy uplands to the rear and wide, high skies above — whenever westerly winds are not busy driving low clouds across the off-shore islands, the low-lying islets, the mudflats and dikes.

There are woods, hills and lakes to the east, and old Hanseatic cities such as Lübeck, not to mention equally old and picturesque towns such as Ratzeburg and Mölln or Schleswig and Husum.

There is the state capital, Kiel, with its Baltic port and the HDW shipyard.

Further south, on the outskirts of Hamburg, hundreds of thousands of people live in towns such as Norderstedt and Pinneberg.

They are not just dormitory suburbs where people who work in Hamburg prefer to live. They are also industrial locations where factories and workshops are often hallmarks of the landscape.

Varying regional conditions naturally play a major role in election campaigns. On the outskirts of Hamburg there are fewer problems than on the west coast, in the Dithmarschen and Nordfriesland areas, where unemployment is often well above the *Land* average of 9.5 per cent (at the latest estimate).

For months the CDU *Land* government has been particularly nervous about support among the farmers in the west and north between Schleswig and Flensburg. Their behaviour could be political dynamite.

The farmers gave the *Land* government a caning in last year's local government elections. The CDU lost heavily in this part of the state, where many farmers were down to less than subsistence earnings.

An independent group that now plans to stand for election statewide polled 11 per cent.

CDU support also took a buffeting in the larger towns, such as Lübeck, Flensburg and Neumünster, where there is a widespread feeling of neglect by Kiel and of the CDU only helping in areas where it can feel sure of staunch CDU support.

Local authorities are increasingly hard hit by high unemployment, over 10 per cent, as they have to foot the social security bill.

A number of towns' problems are intensified by the crisis in shipbuilding. Closures of small and medium-sized shipyards have cost a large number of jobs in Lübeck, Flensburg and Büsum for instance.

The *Land* government fairly comments that these are problems for which it, for the most part, is not to blame.

The north German *Länder* all have their difficulties, and farmers' protests and shipyard crises are by no means limited to Schleswig-Holstein.

But that is not the whole story. Regional considerations and special tension are also involved, as is shown by the number of Christian Democrats who have switched allegiance to the independents, some in connection with the dispute over the North Sea coast mudflats national park.

A number of local authorities complain of a high-handed attitude on the *Land* government's part.

References in general terms are not enough. Each instance is a special case for both the *Land* government and the local authority and must be dealt with in detail during the election campaign.

The parties have completed their final preparations and embarked on their campaigns. They draw comparisons, compare performances.

While the CDU is banking mainly on Herr Barschel and the *Land* party leader, Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg, Herr Engholm and the SPD are campaigning as a team.

It includes Hans-Peter Büll, the former data protection commissioner to the Federal government, as Shadow Interior Minister and four women members of the SPD Shadow Cabinet.

They include Heide Simonis, who sits for Schleswig-Holstein in the Bonn



Just watch out for me, warns SPD challenger Engholm. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Bundestag, and the Hamburg women's rights commissioner Eva Rühmkorf.

Land SPD leader Günther Jansen is also in the Shadow Cabinet. His role will be to pave the way for a phaseout of atomic energy.

This time the Social Democrats have hardly suffered from ideological gripe. The Schleswig-Holstein SPD self-confidently proclaims that the Nuremberg party conference endorsed views held up north for the past 10 years.

The debate on cooperation with the Greens has been called off for the time being. At present it is a free-for-all and it remains to be seen whether the Greens will poll the five per cent they need to make it into the state assembly no matter how well they may have done in local government polls and the general election.

They have not made a particularly trenchant impression in the past few weeks. The problems that beset the Greens nationally may reflect on them just as detrimentally as the poor showing of the GAL in neighbouring Hamburg in May.

The Free Democrats will also be glancing nervously in the direction of Hamburg, where the Hamburg FDP is negotiating coalition terms with the SPD, whereas the Liberals in Schleswig-Holstein are committed to joining forces with the CDU.

Besides, the FDP polled a substantial number of second votes in the general election last January. Whether it will still get them this time is a moot question.

The independents stand little chance of polling five per cent, but their nuisance value cannot be underestimated, and they are unlikely to cost the SPD votes.

If the independents and the Free Democrats, newly converted to a conservative line, poach successfully in CDU strongholds the Christian Democrats could lose heavily, especially as most of the assembly seats go to constituency candidates, with either CDU or SPD winning by the narrowest of margins.

The Christian Democrats must work on the assumption that their support will plummet well below 50 per cent, but not, hopefully, as far as in the Rhineland-Palatinate. They must also hope the FDP will emerge from the fray in a position to form a coalition without much ado.

The Social Democrats will be hoping the CDU loses heavily, the Free Democrats poll 4.8 and the independents over two per cent.

Then, the SPD says, it will be able to go it alone and not even need to ponder over coalition terms with the Greens when the poll is over on the evening of 13 September.

Karsten Plog

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 10 July 1987)

■ GERMANY

Asylum seekers continue arriving as other borders become tighter

About 700,000 foreign nationals are either seeking political or some other form of refuge or have been granted asylum. Another 50,000 or 60,000 are expected to arrive this year.

Since 1982, more than 12 billion marks has been spent keeping them, according to the Bonn Ministry of the Interior.

So far, 68,500 of the 700,000 have been granted political asylum; and 270,000 still live in West Germany despite having had an application rejected — or not bothering to apply in the first place.

The Interior Ministry says that over 160,000 applications for political asylum are still pending.

Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann says asylum applicants continue arriving in numbers, especially now that France, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have drastically tightened up their immigration regulations.

As a result West Germany has become the main target, even more than in the past, of asylum applicants and organisations that help them to get here, usually from Afro-Asian countries.

In 1983 West Germany took in 28.6 per cent of asylum applicants in Western Europe. This percentage has since steadily increased, to 34.1 per cent in 1984, 43.5 per cent in 1985 and over 50 per cent last year.



As the *Länder*, which are responsible for deporting foreign nationals, in practice refuse to do so even in cases where they would be justified, the number of foreign residents in the Federal Republic increases annually by the number of new arrivals.

In 1986 there were 3,000 deportees in the *Länder*. Baden-Württemberg has announced plans to repatriate more asylum applicants from Poland and Hungary because, it argues, they will face no reprisals on their return.

No *Land* government has expressed any intention of deporting de facto refugees who already live in the Federal Republic even though they may have no legal entitlement.

Yet this group are the heaviest burden, financial and otherwise. Politicians are clearly motivated to a substantial extent by reluctance to lay themselves open to criticism by interested parties.

Interior Ministry figures indicate that the 700,000-plus foreign nationals consist of:

- 68,500 who have been recognised as political refugees and granted asylum;
- 32,700 other refugees allowed to stay;
- 39,900 classified as displaced persons (including people who have thrown away passports and other documents to make it more difficult for authorities to find out where they come from.)
- 17,000 who live in West Germany although they have been granted asylum and refugee status in other Western countries;
- 160,000 who have applications pending. Fewer and fewer are now being recognised as political refugees (last year a mere 10 per cent of applications were approved compared with 15 per cent in 1985);
- 270,000 de facto refugees, foreigners who have either not applied for asylum or whose applications have been rejected and are thus not legally entitled to live in West Germany but stay here because the authorities prefer not to deport them.

Federal government, answering a parliamentary question tabled by Bundestag MP Wolfgang Götzer of the CSU, says it cannot specify exactly how much the upkeep of asylum applicants costs.

Federal, *Land* and local authority expenditure on refugees comes from a variety of sources, mostly budget items that include expenditure on other groups too.

Bonn has estimated expenditure on the basis of information supplied by the *Länder* and concluded that in 1984 the Federal and *Land* governments and local authorities spent roughly DM2bn on refugees:

- The lion's share — DM1.12bn — went toward the upkeep of de facto refugees.
- DM580m was spent on refugees whose applications for political asylum were pending.
- DM400m — the smallest share — was spent on recognised political refugees or quota refugees whose legal entitlement was beyond question.

These figures are based on the assumption that each refugee entitled to claim social security costs about DM14,000 a year and that only about 40 per cent of de facto refugees apply or qualify for social security.

The Interior Ministry says these assumptions trail far behind the actual costs refugees entail. In other words, taxpayers will have paid much more in reality than the estimates suggest.

Economic grounds

In 1985 this expenditure increased substantially due to the growing number of new arrivals (up from 35,278 in 1984 to 73,832 in 1985) and an influx of 90,000 de facto refugees.

The Ministry estimates expenditure in 1985 to have totally at least DM2.5bn, plus a further DM3bn last year.

This year the number of foreigners in need of assistance and of applicants for political asylum has increased by over 100,000 to 700,000-plus.

Most are felt by the authorities to have sought asylum solely on economic grounds.

The Federal government expects spending in 1987 to register a further substantial increase in the wake of growing numbers of foreign residents in these various categories.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 July 1987)

Debate over a plan to let foreigners vote

Hamburg is considering giving some voting rights to foreign residents. The idea has provoked a variety of reactions and a plethora of legal questions.

Which foreigners would get the vote? Exactly what level of government could they vote for? Would it apply in all *Länder* or just some? Would the vote do foreigners any good if they did get it?

The idea seems logical on the no-taxation-without-representation principle. Foreigners who have lived in West Germany long enough to show that they intend staying ought to be entitled to vote and not just have to pay taxes.

They would, of course, need to fulfil minimum requirements such as being able to read and write German.

As so often, the legal minutiae pose problems. References to comparable arrangements in other European countries are of little use: constitutional provisions vary widely.

Basic Law, the 1949 *Bonn constitution*, specifies that government devolves from the people. In the context of universal suffrage that means Germans only. The reference is to the German people, so only German nationals (or naturalised Germans) are entitled to vote.

The situation may be different at the local government level. Ernst Benda, past president of the Federal Constitutional Court, says local government suffrage for foreign residents might be considered, whereas it is still out of the question in general elections.

Professor Benda, a Christian Democrat, feels that as local government decisions immediately affect foreign residents consideration might well be given to allowing them to participate in decision-making.

Supporters of this view are in all political parties, churches and trade unions — and not just in foreign residents' councils.

Yet the constitutional doubts, for instance, by Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann cannot simply be brushed aside.

Neither can fears that voting rights for foreign residents might enable or make it easier for them to "export" to West Germany political disputes relating to their countries of origin.

Unless the indications are misleading (but expert opinions vary to such an extent that this seems improbable), constitutional courts in either the *Länder* or Karlsruhe will have the last word on the subject.

Even if they were to raise no objection to local government suffrage for foreign residents, it would still be for politicians to decide whether it was politically desirable.

Another question is whether votes for foreigners would do them much good.

What kind of voting rights would they be? Strictly limited rights for one. They could only be exercised locally. Decisions at *Land* or Federal government level would continue to be reached by others even though they affect Germans and foreign residents alike.

Besides, foreign residents, it is agreed, could only qualify for the vote by a residence qualification. In other words, they must first have lived several years in the Federal Republic.

So there would inevitably be two classes of foreign resident: those enti-

Continued on page 6

■ PERSPECTIVE

Peripheral figures in the July plot against Hitler also met their fate

DIE WELT

At 12.30 a.m. on 20 July 1944 Colonel Stauffenberg and his adjutant, Lt von Haeften, rushed into an empty room at the Wolfsschanze, or wolf's lair, Hitler's East Prussian HQ.

Stauffenberg had explained to Field-Marshal Keitel that he needed a quick change of shirt.

Time was short. The conference at which the colonel was to plant a bomb to assassinate the Führer had been brought forward.

The two explosive packs, each weighing about one kilogram, had to have their fuses set and be replaced in the colonel's attaché case.

Only one charge had been fused when a staff sergeant came in, sent by Keitel to tell them to make it double quick. They had no time to set the second fuse and pack the explosive in the briefcase.

The bomb went off at 12.42 hours. Hitler survived, but not just because only half the bomb exploded. There were other "coincidences" that told in the Führer's favour.

The conference was transferred from the bunker, where its effect would have been more devastating, to a shed. The briefcase was shifted away from Hitler to the other side of the massive foot of the chart table.

Believers in the Führer, if they had only known these details would have been even keener to proclaim that providence was on their side.

In Berlin the conspirators were long unsure what had happened. The coup didn't get under way until Stauffenberg arrived at the Wehrmacht HQ in Bendlerstrasse. It was hours too late.

He had been left with no choice but to play a fateful dual role as both the coup's prime mover in Berlin and the Führer's would-be assassin in East Prussia.

The coup gained a certain amount of ground but its momentum faltered when Hitler spoke to the nation over the radio. That same night Stauffenberg and his closest associates were shot in the Bendlerstrasse courtyard.

A period of grim revenge began. The Volksgerichtshof, the notorious Nazi supreme court, had proclaimed even before the war that its aim was not to dispense justice but to "destroy the adversaries of National Socialism."

Before he was appointed chief justice, Roland Freisler wrote that the administration of criminal justice in wartime must "eliminate all signs of subversion the moment they appear; annihilate fission fungus root and branch."

Then, and then only, would it fulfill its duty, that of being "one of the most powerful weapons in the German people's front of domestic unity, cohesion, resolution and strength."

Justice was bereft of its blindfold and brandished a guillotine and a hangman's noose.

Third Reich legal precepts were vague: a Wehrmacht court of honour was convened, dishonourably discharged the accused without giving them a hearing and then handed them over to the Volksgerichtshof.

Cameras were clandestinely set up in the court. The proceedings were filmed. So were the executions. The condemned men were garrotted, enabling the Führer to enjoy watching them die slowly.

The first sentences were passed on 8 August 1944 and the condemned men executed the same day. There was no time for the appeal for clemency for which German law makes provision.

Men and women later condemned had a long wait for their execution. They were tortured. Yet they made it clear in court that in reality it was they who were sitting in judgment on Hitler and the Nazi regime.

Freisler sought to prevent them from stating their reasons for the parts they played in opposing Hitler, but they made their motives clear.

They referred to the many murders, to Hitler as an executor of evil, to the totalitarian claims of the state, without religious or moral obligation toward God.

They had all done what they did for Germany's sake.

Carl Goerdeler, the man who was to replace Hitler as Reich Chancellor, had noted in a draft government policy statement that "the first task must be to restore the full majesty of law."

That was the political and moral basis on which the "conspirators" were agreed, regardless whether they were left- or right-wing in outlook.



Hans Oster ... always mistrusted the Nazis. (Photo: Ullstein)

This first principle of the resistance is embodied in the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, of which Carlo Schmid once said it formed the basis of a constitution by which the rule of law prevailed in the state.

Doubts have been voiced as to whether postwar society, having allegedly tended to restore prewar social structures, has been a faithful testator of the resistance's legacy. Whether they are warranted is another matter.

The conspirators' motives can also be read about in biographies. Mention must be made of two men who played only minor roles in the July 1944 conspiracy but were of particular importance in various ways for German opposition to Hitler.

Neither was brought to trial before the Volksgerichtshof. Both were arrested shortly after the failed assassination bid, spent time in prisons and concentration camps and finally killed in the last days of the war.

One died in Berlin, the other in Flossenbürg concentration camp in the Upper Palatinate, Bavaria.

Major-General (as he was later to become) Hans Oster became one of the Third Reich's most resolute opponents after the 30 June 1934 Röhm putsch.

He had mistrusted the Nazi regime from the outset, but his eyes were opened as to its criminal character when he saw how people were murdered at the regime's behest — people who included two generals, General von Bredow and General von Schleicher.

Schleicher had been Hitler's immediate predecessor as Reich Chancellor.

The Reichswehr, which had accepted the murders without contradiction, had forfeited its honour, Hans Oster said.

He was then plain Hans Oster, a clerical officer with Army intelligence, having had to resign his commission two years earlier on account of a love affair. He was not recommissioned until 1935.

The Reichswehr was very particular about matters of private morality, although it tended merely to observe convention.

It failed to appreciate that public, political morality was no less important and that the state and its institutions must also be bound be a code of honour.

Politics, the armed forces agreed, was a dirty business.

The intrigue against Army C-in-C Colonel-General von Fritsch in 1938 for resisting Hitler's war plans was Oster's second eye-opener.

He was strongly in favour of a coup, but in vain, partly because the "dirty" removal of Fritsch from office was overshadowed by a foreign policy success, the *Anschluss* of Austria.

Not long afterwards, when Hitler's plans to partition Czechoslovakia took Europe to the brink of war, Oster laid the groundwork for another carefully prepared coup.

It too, arguably the most promising bid to oust the dictator, was frustrated — by the Anglo-French policy of appeasement.

During the war he consistently kept up his resistance work. When preparations for coups repeatedly foundered on problems of one kind and another, he warned the Belgians and Dutch when the Wehrmacht was planning its offensive on the Western front.

He realised that the Wehrmacht might suffer losses as a result, was naturally unhappy at this prospect but felt that they justified the possible result: a crisis leading to the ousting of the regime and the conclusion of a peace treaty on terms acceptable for Germany.

All his activities envisaged a triad consisting of assassination, coup d'état and peace probes.

They were the prerequisites he felt justified his endeavours, making formal treason in the final analysis an act of patriotism.

Oster was still alive when Hitler, in conversation with Albert Speer in March 1945, passed his death sentence on the German people, saying he felt it was unnecessary to leave it even the most primitive means of survival because it had proved too weak to deserve them.

He was arrested on 21 July 1944, his name having been found on a list compiled by the conspirators. But he had nothing to do with the assassination bid.



Claus von Stauffenberg ... change-of-shirt pretext. (Photo: dpa)

He had been cashiered in 1943 for having sought to cover a member of his staff, Hans von Dohnanyi, during a Gestapo raid.

His central place in the German resistance to Hitler was long vacant, not being occupied by Claus von Stauffenberg until 1944.

Oster was long able to skilfully defend himself. But when, by coincidence, a complete version of the Canaris diaries was found, Hitler realised that a group of determined men at the foreign intelligence department of the Wehrmacht supreme command had worked against him under Oster's leadership.

The Führer ordered Oster's liquidation. He was hanged at Flossenbürg concentration camp on 9 April 1945 after a farcical court-martial

So were Admiral Canaris, his superior, Dr Sack, the Army provost-general, General von Rabenau, the Seeckt biographer, and his staff members Bonhoeffer, Strünck and Gehre.

Days later American troops occupied the camp.

In the early hours of 23 April 1945 sixteen prisoners in two groups were led out of Lehrter Strasse prison in Berlin. They were told they were being taken to the Gestapo HQ in Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse to be released.

Each man was accompanied by an armed SS soldier. The order to shoot them was given as they passed through a pile of rubble. One of the murdered men was Professor Albrecht Haushofer.

When his brother, who was also imprisoned but had been released, found him a few days later, he still held a bundle of papers in his hand.

They contained poems he had written in Moabit gaol with his hands bound.

Albrecht Haushofer was another man who played an active part in the German resistance to Hitler. He had sounded a warning note even during the war, as a university teacher and a political journalist.

He ran the risk of coming out into the open more than virtually any other member of the resistance even though he was in a particularly hazardous position, one of his grandparents having been Jewish.

During the war he sought in particular, on the Opposition's behalf, to forge links with Britain. But his chief legacy was his Moabit Sonnets, testimony to a humanist and patriot and political poetry in the finest sense of the term.

One is reminded of the words spoken by an ancestor of Count Stauffenberg, August Neithardt von Gneisenau, who wrote to his sovereign that the safety of the throne was based on poetry.

Walter Loch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 18 July 1987)

■ FINANCE

German-German trade 'is separate from politics'

DIE ZEIT

Many West German businessmen who trade with East Germany have high hopes that the visit of East German leader Erich Honecker to Bonn next month will stimulate activity.

They should not expect too much. Trade between the two Germanies hardly ever depends on politics. It generally keeps on increasing regardless.

Even last year, when there was a drop of 9 per cent in the value of trade, the causes were economic: the sharp drop in oil prices, lower profits from chemicals and metals. In fact, in volume terms, more goods were actually traded.

Trade with East Germany does not follow the contours of diplomatic niceties. Five-year plans, economic conditions and the dollar exchange rate are more decisive than handshakes between politbureau members and Bundestag members.

In the present commercial climate, for example, there is little scope for West Germany investing in major new East German projects because East Berlin's managers are busy modernising existing capacity rather than trying to establish new capacity. But this does mean that the climate is good for supplying capital goods.

East German purchases of mechanical engineering products and vehicles rose by 35 per cent over the past two years. Purchases of electronics went up by 59 per cent in 1985, by 70 per cent last year and this trend is continuing.

This means that the composition of trade is improving. It is a constant worry that intra-German trade does not have the chance to develop as it should between what are two industrialised states, because supplies and purchases are mainly restricted to raw materials, mined products, primary products and agricultural produce.

In the meantime, however, investment goods have become more important and now account for 30 per cent of West Germany's trade with East Germany, the largest single item. Chemical products are in second place followed by iron and steel, agricultural products and textiles.

Textiles and clothing have become more important items in West German purchases from East Germany, after crude oil deliveries dropped a half in money terms but not in volume.

Chemical products are at third place, then machinery, electro-technology and agricultural produce.

There are no hopes of major project contracts. East German officials are giving their attention to energy bottlenecks, to antiquated power stations and to catching up in environmental protection, which both public and the government are now acutely conscious of.

No-one can say whether any solid business, that could include cooperation, will come out of this. There is no doubt that desulphurising brown-coal power stations in East Germany would be in the Federal Republic's best interests, primarly West Berlin's, but the cost for this is so enormous that Bonn can only offer technical assistance rather than cash.

There are further possibilities of increasing trade in consumer goods. This has always played an important role.

East Germany has become one of the major purchasers of shoes and West German and West Berlin department stores are full of East German textiles — even if West German labels are sown on them before shipment.

In this sector East Germany is at the mercy of considerable competition. When the dollar exchange rate is weak manufacturers in the Far East are cheaper. East Germany then has to drop its prices or do without hard currency.

Often East German factories cannot come up to Western quality demands. Continuously there are complaints that the range of goods available from East Germany is too limited, that delivery dates are too long and that the East German economy, measured against Western requirements, is too inflexible.

This is true also in barter-trading. Anyone wanting to sell goods in East Germany most commit himself to purchasing goods to the same value from East Germany. This is particularly the custom as regards investment goods.

There is a whole branch that specialises in marketing these goods, accepted more or less involuntarily.

Experts have expressed the opinion that East Germany's ability to deliver goods to western markets has suffered recently and that East Germany's main trading partner: the Soviet Union, is demanding improved quality.

East Germany has to take this into consideration and not only for political reasons. Soviet Russia is East Germany's most important customer, taking up 40 per cent of East German foreign trade.

The Federal Republic, with eight per cent of East Germany's export turnover, is the country's second most important trading partner, in front of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The Federal Republic is also an important provider of hard currency through the lump-sum paid by Bonn for transit traffic through East Germany, lump-sum postal charges and similar services.

Since 1971 about DM12bn have been poured into East Germany in this way, excluding the compulsory sums travellers to East Germany have to exchange and purchases in Intershops, where goods have to be paid for in hard currency.

Intra-German trade is far less important for the Federal Republic. Indeed, it is not counted as foreign trade because East Germany is not "abroad" in the normally accepted meaning of that term.

In foreign trade terms commerce with East Germany accounts for only 1.5 per cent of the Federal Republic's total foreign trade.

As a foreign trade partner East Germany is equal in importance to Spain, Norway, Yugoslavia or South Africa.

Trade with Austria is three times greater, with Holland or France six or seven times more.

Because intra-German trade is not foreign trade as such, there are a few special features attached to it that are definite advantages to East Germany.

Unlike foreign trade, value-added tax is applied to deliveries to East Germany, in general six per cent, lower than the VAT applied within the Federal Republic, generally 14 per cent.

Purchases from East Germany are also favoured because a prior-tax deduction of eleven per cent can be applied to them. This means purchasers get a refund, which East German suppliers can, when possible, take into account with their prices.

Agricultural produce is traded at the price levels prevailing within the European Community and not at much lower world prices.

Accounts are settled through central banks in units of account that correspond to the West German deutschemark. This means that East Germany, short of hard currency, does not have to use convertible currency.

In addition, East Germany is granted interest-free loans under a system available exclusively to it called "The Swing". This is currently running at about 500 million units of account.

If to this is added the credit offered by West German suppliers then East Germany is in debt to the tune of DM4.4bn in intra-German trade, and the tendency is for this figure to increase.

The advantages for the Federal Republic are mainly of a political nature. Intra-German trade continues to be an important clamp between the two Germanies. It promotes links and understanding between the two states.

The economic advantages are comparatively limited. Almost everything that East Germany supplies could be purchased at the same price with the same quality elsewhere.

Of the 7,000 West German companies that trade with East Germany only a *handful are dependent* on this trade.

Occasionally East Germany takes West German wishes into consideration. East Berlin has, for instance, promised to cover West Germany's additional coal requirements and have kept to this commitment.

The struggling West German steel industry has been delighted at a contract with the East Germans in which they agreed to take up DM300m worth of West German rolled steel annually.

But an expert in the steel industry points out that there are conditions to this agreement, "that have accelerated the ruin of ARBED Saarstahl."

The conditions that the East Germans are demanding from West German clothing companies are no less ruinous, the difference is, however, that in East Germany no-one goes bankrupt.

Joachim Nawrocki

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 24 July 1987)

OECD lowers its growth estimate

An OECD report on the West German economy is not as rosy as the view of the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn.

The Paris-based international organisation forecast in July last year that West Germany would have a GNP growth rate in real terms of 3.1 per cent this year. This has been revised downward to 1.5 per cent.

The OECD says growth might reach 2 per cent next year.

The report, whose view of the prospects for 1987 and thereafter is endorsed "with extraordinary uncertainty factors" expects there to be an increase in unemployment. It will increase from the current eight per cent to 8.25 per cent in 1988.

Consumer prices will also tend to increase. This year the OECD estimates a rise of 0.75 per cent and in 1988 an increase of 1.5 per cent.

In the second half of 1987 exports could begin to increase *again at a modest* rate.

In order to cut back unemployment and tackle current account surpluses more effectively the OECD recommends measures to reflate domestic demand.

Investment to extend capacities and create jobs could contribute to this. But better short-term growth prospects are necessary to increase this kind of investment.

Reducing currency exchange rate uncertainty, tax policies and developments in wages would contribute to improving the investment climate.

The OECD recommends a speeding up of doing away with subsidies and a reduction in business tax. This could be done by bringing further forward the planned measures in the 1990 tax reform.

The OECD report on "Germany 1987" has, generally speaking, praise and criticism for the economic policies pursued by the Federal Republic.

Stable prices, budget funding, the flexibility on the labour market and the profits situation are looked upon approvingly.

The OECD regards critically the high unemployment rate, inadequate *de-regulation* and current account sur*pluses*.

The Economic Affairs *Ministry* welcomed the fact that the OECD had approved of the Bonn government's policies, but there was no question of bringing forward tax reform.

Arnulf Gosch

(Die Welt, Bonn, 17 July 1987)

Continued from page 4

tled to vote and those not entitled to vote.

What is more, depending on political majorities in state assemblies there seem sure to be *Länder* where foreigners have the vote and *Länder* where they don't.

Dissatisfaction is a foregone conclusion. It would be even greater if the vote were only to be granted to European Community citizens, so excluding the largest ethnic group among the country's four million foreign residents, the Turks.

Hamburg's proposal — always assuming anything comes of it — may be a necessary move as a bid to clarify the constitutional aspects.

But as a means of promoting the integration of foreign residents keen to stay in Germany (and them only) local government suffrage would seem to be a unsuitable and half-hearted measure.

If foreign residents who work here and pay taxes are to be enabled to play a larger part in society as a whole, the restrictions on naturalisation must be eased. They must become German citizens.

That would make the votes for foreigners debate superfluous. It would also have a bearing on the debate about military service for foreign residents.

It would certainly take the edge off the argument that foreign residents are being called on yet again merely to bridge a gap or to discourage others from following in their footsteps.

Volker Dieckmann

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 July 1987)

■ INDUSTRY

Salzgitter, a heart of iron and a soul of steel

Few would have given the Reichswerke Hermann Göring, an ore mining and iron and steelmaking group founded in Salzgitter, a bolter's chance of surviving for half a century when it was founded in July 1937.

Even its founders, especially Göring, who was in charge of the four-year plan, must have had doubts whether the project would even get off the ground.

By any sober yardstick, the odds were against it. The state-owned industrial enterprise was founded virtually overnight. There were even doubts that its furnaces would ever start up.

Yet survive and flourish it did and has. The monumental administrative centre in Salzgitter, next door to the steelworks, shows that.

Nearby iron ore deposits, discovered in the early 1930s, were initially to have been used by the Ruhr steelmakers, but they put forward one argument after another for not using Salzgitter ore with its low iron count.

So Göring decided to go it alone and set up an integrated iron and steel combine comprising 32 foundries and a city designed for a population of 130,000.

Fresh doubts arose when construction work was hit by the outbreak of war in 1939, when 41,000 forced labourers, including 21,000 foreign nationals, were already housed in makeshift camp accommodation.

"The forced construction of the steelworks took a heavy toll, especially of human lives," wrote Ernst Pieper some years ago. "For many forced labourers, prisoners of war and concentration camp inmates Salzgitter was a place of horror."

Herr Pieper has been chief executive at Salzgitter since 1979. He is only the group's fifth chief executive in 50 years.

After the war hardship continued for years to be the constant companion of people in the Salzgitter area. The barracks were home for thousands of refugees. Allied dismantling of the works facilities continued until autumn 1950.

For a while unemployment in Salzgitter was 30 per cent, or three times the national average.

The group now includes a housing corporation that over the years has built over 20,000 homes in Salzgitter alone — a reminder of the hardship of the company's first, pioneering decade.

In spring 1950 foundry workers staged a sit-in on foundations in which explosives had been wired for firing. This resistance stumped the British occupying troops.

It stumped the *Land* government in Hanover and the Federal government in Bonn too. No-one really knew what to do with the Salzgitter torso the country had been bequeathed.

Bonn and Hanover realised, by the time foundry workers had ceased worrying about the ideological implications of the inheritance and were merely worried about the jobs, that something had to be done.

Yet reconstruction did not begin until 1952, by when steelmakers in the Ruhr and in nearby Peine were already making good money.

Chief executive Hans Birnbaum, Pieper's predecessor, said:

"No matter how hard it tried, Salzgitter could no longer make good the lead established by its competitors in the west.

"While others had modernised facilities and were able to make hay while the boom lasted, both paying dividends and salting away reserves, Salzgitter continued to live from hand to mouth."

The only dividends ever paid to Bonn, the sole shareholder, were made from 1957 to 1961 as a gesture to show the world that Salzgitter was determined to hold its own.

It wasn't paid because the group was awash with money! Salzgitter has never known happy days like its nearby counterpart test-tube town, Wolfsburg, the home of Volkswagen.

At best there was a sigh of relief when the company and the city had more or less survived yet another crisis, such as the end of ore mining in the late 1960s.

In mining's heyday, from 1955 to 1965, just over seven million tonnes of iron ore a year was mined by 7,500 miners in Peine and Salzgitter.

Nowadays higher-grade iron ore imported from Africa, South America or Sweden can be made into steel at less expense than locally-mined ore. A mere 150 million tonnes have been mined out of deposits totalling an estimated 2,000 million tonnes.

Salzgitter executives cannot always be said to have been blessed with good luck in their investment decisions, starting in 1962 with the first bid to diversify in view of the imminent loss of ore, coal and steel capacity.

The group took over Büssing, the Brunswick truck manufacturers, expecting commercial vehicles to be a money-spinner.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The attempt was a miserable failure and nearly proved the group's undoing.

By the time Hans Birnbaum finally succeeded in selling Büssing to Gutehoffnungshütte (GHH) and Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg (MAN), the vehicle manufacturing subsidiary had cost Salzgitter nearly DM500m.

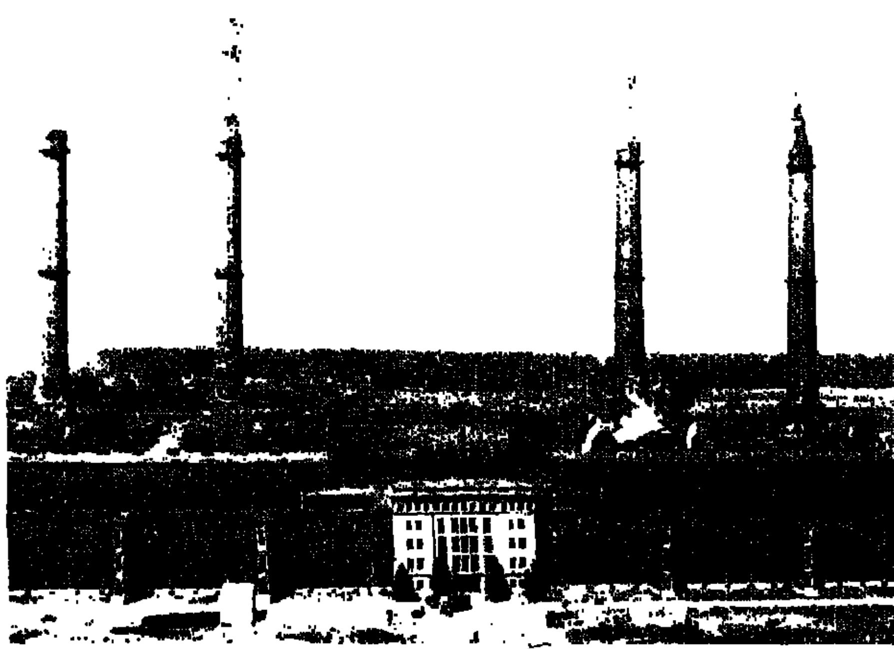
In a trade-in, Salzgitter took over in return the Deutsche Werft shipyard in Hamburg. It too was soon to prove a bottomless pit.

In the late 1960s Birnbaum was keen to merge the Salzgitter and Peine steelworks. In retrospect that too was a costly mistake.

He had hoped synergy would cut costs and boost profits, but it didn't. The market for sectional steel has since steadily declined.

In lean years Peine invariably made heavy losses, whereas Salzgitter fared well, especially with its sheet steel for car bodies.

Taking over the Ilsede steelworks, near Brunswick, proved another costly exercise. Shareholders took Salzgitter to court and were awarded, after years of litigation, a supplementary payment of DM139m.



Rolling the steel and bending the odds . . . the Salzgitter works shortly after the war. (Photo: Archives)

Shipyard executives Manfred Lennings and Norbert Henke were equally misguided in deciding to build a jumbo dock for supertankers in Kiel. The shipbuilding division would have done better to diversify while the going was good.

That, of course, is easier said than done. Hagenuk, the Kiel electronics company taken over in the late 1970s, was initially a brilliant money-spinner.

Then the Bundespost, the company's chief customer, revised the buying policy of its telecom division, presenting Hagenuk with problems and leaving the company is the red.

Most of the Salzgitter stake in C. Otto, a coke works manufacturer taken over in the 1970s, has now been resold. Salzgitter would have preferred not to sell its holding in the Sachs group, bought at roughly the same time.

It will shortly be resold to Mannesmann for roughly DM210m. In cash terms that will mean a profit, since Gunther Sachs sold his shareholding to Salzgitter for DM145m.

But Herr Pieper saw the Sachs shareholding as a major opportunity of stabilising repeated, disappointing trends in the further processing sector.

If that had been possible, then Salzgitter would probably have needed to own a majority shareholding in the Sachs group if further processing was to emerge as a third mainstay (in addition to steel and shipbuilding).

The Federal government in Bonn, as the owner of Salzgitter, decided against the idea.

Salzgitter executives may have assured Bonn that the group could itself raise the capital to transform its Sachs stake into a majority shareholding, but Finance Ministry officials were sceptical.

Understandably maybe. Over the past five years they have had to bail Salzgitter out with cash payments totalling a staggering DM1.3bn.

The Federal government, still the sole owner of the Salzgitter group, has seldom ever had reason to be pleased with its performance. It paid out nearly DM700m in the 1970s, much of which was invested in takeovers and shareholdings.

The Sachs stake cost DM145, the Celle soundproofing firm Stankiewicz DM50m, C. Otto DM30m and Hagenuk in Kiel, the Kloth-Senking foundry in Hildesheim and the Bremen crane-builders Kocks about DM20m.

In 1983 Bernhard Friedmann, Christian Democratic chairman of the Bundestag audit committee, said Salzgitter's attempt to offset decling steel and shipyard output by buying into other industries had been a simple failure. Bonn had to dig deep into its coffers in the 1960s too. The group's capital was reduced in nominal value from DM460m to DM50m and a further DM250m paid in. This 1960s Salzgitter crisis cost Bonn roughly DM700m in the second half of the decade.

All told, Salzgitter is likely to have cost the Federal government about DM3bn. If that were the end of the matter this sum could be written off as replenishment of working capital.

But it probably won't be. Salzgitter doesn't by any means seem to be over the hump.

After heavy losses in the 1982/83 and 1983/84 financial years modest profits were recorded in the two years that followed. But men continued to be laid off at both foundries and shipyards.

The group emerged from the red largely by axing staff. Salzgitter now has a payroll of roughly 38,000; six years ago it numbered nearly 57,000.

Not all losses are due to redundancies or early retirement. A number of companies and works have been sold.

Yet once the extra cost of redundancy agreements has been met, the savings in wage bills are likely to amount to over DM500m a year.

Despite regular merger rumours, the management are still confident the Peine and Salzgitter steelworks (P + S) will survive future crises with the DM1bn invested since 1980 tucked away under its belt.

HDW, the shipyard division, is not expected to present any more serious cash problems either. It used to comprise five shipyards in Kiel and Hamburg; soon only one will remain.

The Kiel shipyard once had a payroll of 15,000. It is now down to 4,400.

Heads have rolled at the executive level too: When Herr Pieper took over as chief executive from Hans Birnbaum eight years ago he shared power with eight fellow-directors on the board of the holding company.

None of the eight are still at the top. Few survived to retire at 65. After tough disputes Peter Adams of P + S had to quit, as did Norbert Henke and, latterly, Klaus Ahlers of HDW.

Herr Pieper's hard-nosed approach doubtless has much to do with the bitter management rule of thumb: "Out of the red or off with his head!"

In hard times a salutary atmosphere is unlikely to prevail in the boardroom. That is an encumbrance the group is saddled with in its second half-century.

Kurt Döring

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 July 1987)

■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Whipple's whirl: a carmaker chief looks for profit, not at the market share

DIE ZEIT

A year ago, Kenneth Whipple was posted from Ford headquarters in Detroit to Europe with good wishes — *and the order to push annual profits to a billion dollars (1.8 billion marks).*

Ford is the second largest vehicle maker in the world. And there are not many in this billion-dollar profit class. There are only two in Europe: Italy's giant Fiat, manufacturers of flashy small cars making good profits for the well-protected domestic market; and Daimler-Benz, the largest supplier of luxury cars.

Peugeot did report a billion-dollar profit the year before while Volkswagen, which makes more vehicles than anyone else in Europe, made just over half a billion.

The remaining mass automobile producers, General Motors (Opel) and the French state-owned Renault, all made losses.

Whipple's task, then, seems massive if the firm's recent performance is looked at: since 1980, Ford Europe has on average earned only 300 million dollars a year.

But there are reasons to believe that Whipple can do it. First, Ford has once before realised a profit of 1.2bn dollars. That was in 1979 when the present Ford President, Harold "Red" Poling, was based in London as head of Ford Europe.

Second, Whipple was able to report a tidy sum to Detroit for 1986: profits of 559m dollars, 71 per cent up on the previous year.

But, third, the most telling reason is that Whipple believes a further increase in profits is a matter of course.

Obviously he has not yet achieved his aim: investment in the car industry is a long-term affair. Often years pass between action and results.

The sharp decline in costs is primarily the reason why Ford is today doing so well, principally as regards personnel.

This began early in the 1980s when Whipple's predecessor, Robert A. Lutz, was chairman of Ford Europe.

Whipple said: "If 1979 is compared with the previous year it can be seen that in both years unit production was the same, but in 1986 the workforce was reduced by a third, that is with 50,000 fewer blue and white collar workers."

This trend is continuing under Whipple. He said: "By the end of this year for certain there will be fewer than 100,000 employed by Ford Europe."

Ford, Fiat and Peugeot are all going along the same road: reduction in the workforce and markedly increased yields. Only Volkswagen is giving priority to creating jobs. Last year alone VW took on a further 20,000, but profits continued to be unsatisfactory.

Whipple said of the Volkswagen situation: "Volkswagen has a higher pay level than its competitors, but also one advantage: VW cars have a very good image with customers."

Ford have problems with the public image their cars have. Whipple's predecessor Lutz, who, unlike Whipple, is a car man through and through, last year had to state frankly "that Ford's image in Germany did not match up to the product's merits."

This has resulted in higher marketing and sales promotion costs, particularly if the market share was to be increased.

This strategy of buying into a greater market share by higher publicity spending pushed Ford in 1984 to a profit low of 147m dollars.

For the first time Ford topped the sales list in Europe, but profits remained elusive.

Lutz said last year: "A relationship could indeed be seen between market share and profits before the European market became so competitive and before marketing and special concessions became so important. This is no longer the case."

Lutz cut back budgets for marketing and advertising. Whipple also gives little thought to market shares. He said that no Ford manager in Europe would get into trouble if market share dropped slightly. "But when profit margins drop, we want to know why."

Whipple believes that cooperation agreements with competitors as a means of cutting costs have not been expoited to the full. He said: "There are many ideas but none of the dimensions such as the Fiat deal that failed."

During Lutz's time in the Ford Europe chair Ford set its sights on a marriage with Fiat. Whipple said enthusiastically that this was a great proposal. But nothing came of a link with the European car manufacturer with by far the greatest profits and turnover, because in the end both sides wanted to run the show.

Later national pride halted Ford attempts to swallow up two loss-making state-owned firms, Austin Rover in Britain and Alfa Romeo in Italy.

Whipple commented: "They were both good opportunities to buy undervalued companies with attractive makes of car."

Fiat though "saw in this bid to take over Alfa Romeo a threat to its supremacy on the domestic market," Whipple said. The result was that Alfa Romeo was taken over by Fiat.

Whipple admits that car manufacturers talk to one another a great deal. Currently discussions are focused primarily on joint development and production of components such as axels and gear boxes, in this way cost-cutting. Nothing spectacular, but it could be.

Is it conceivable that Ford could develop a new car with other manufacturers? Whipple said: "It could be. We have two options. We could work together for a new middle class car with other Europeans, Volvo for instance. Or we could also develop a new car working with Ford in the US as we are doing with the successor to the middle class Sierra."

The American parent company in Detroit holds a 25 per cent share in Japanese manufacturer Mazda. Ford strategists have more than once aired the idea of developing a new car with Ford USA, Ford Europe and Mazda. It would be a successor to the Escort that competes with VW's Golf.

Whipple said that a decision has been taken against this idea. "We shall develop another model." He added that "the decisive reason for this was that Ford's European organisation must preserve engineer capacity."

Although an old saying about Ford in Europe goes that "it operates everywhere but belongs nowhere," the company does have a stamping ground of its own, though it is not emphasised.

Production plant is located in four countries, West Germany, Britain, Spain and Belgium.

Just where a specific number of cars from the Ford range are produced is determined not only by the workers' productivity but also, as now, by currency shifts.

All Ford cars come off the production line at two locations in Europe except for the Scorpio that is produced exclusively in Cologne.

The strength of the deutschemark against sterling has made the Ford factories in Britain much more attractive.

Whipple, always on the look-out for cost advantages, expressed it this way. "Productivity in the British factories is not as high as it is in West Germany, if one compares out-put of cars per man per year."

He continued: " It will be a long time before the British overtake the Germans in productivity."



Kenneth Whipple . . . good wishes and a tall order. (Photo: Ford)

Calculations in Ford are made in this way. "In dollar terms at so and so dollars per car, the British factories will soon reach the German cost level," Whipple forecast.

At present Ford in Britain is making the greatest advances in productivity, "annually over 10 per cent." The drop in currency has also helped.

It is not surprising then that Whipple drives up production in Britain. In the first quarter of this year the factories have produced 51 per cent more cars than in the comparable period over the past 7 years.

The strength of the deutschemark gives Whipple problems. He said: "It will be tough for all international companies that, like us, are encumbered with too many costs in marks. Volkswagen is worse off, but we also will have to cut deutschemark costs and that will be painful."

West German suppliers to Ford will also be affected, possibly the workers on the production line as well.

Is it likely that in a few years time Sierras from the British Ford factories will be in West German showrooms?

Whipple said: "The only thing that is holding us back from that is the quality difference. But that is being reduced. The British factories are catching up. German customers today no longer notice the difference."

The most important Ford model in Europe, the middle class Sierra, will probably not be produced at all in Germany. The West German market will be supplied by the Ford factory in Ghent, Belgium.

Heinz Blüthmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 26 June 1987)

Opel confident better times are on the way

Opel chairman Horst W. Herke says that after three lean years, the company is expecting an improvement.

The company lost 141 million marks last year, 6.2 million marks more than in 1985 but well below the record loss of 695 million marks in 1984.

But, at a press conference, Herke preferred to dwell on future rather than the 1986 results. Understandable, since this is the company's anniversary year.

Last year turnover was DM14.83bn (1985: 14.79bn). Opel produced 925,536 cars and commercial vehicles during the year (1985: 938,071).

There was a considerable shift in sales from exports to the domestic market with 41 per cent of Opel's car production being sold in the Federal Republic.

This was a development that Opel welcomed for, as Herke said, "Profit per car is higher on domestic sales than on exports."

During the past year DM1.51bn was invested in the three Opel factories in Rüsselsheim, Bochum and Kaiserslautern — simultaneously deprectiations of about a billion deutschemarks were applied.

In total Opel has poured out more than three billion deutschemarks for plant modernisation over the past two years.

Opel expects to get back into black figures in 1987. "The world will have to come to an end if we do not make a profit this year," Herke explained.

He said that in his view profits would be around the three digits in millions level.

All the signs are favourable for this to come about. So far this year every month has ended up in black figures, and the market share of 16 per cent is above the previous year's level of 15.5 per cent.

After three lean years the fat years should be on the way.

Opel is producing more and more pollution-controlled cars. Including controversial diesels, 86 per cent of all newly-registered cars have the grading that they are pollution-controlled.

In the first four months of this year 45,000 vehicles with catalytic converters were moved into showrooms, putting Opel well ahead of competitors.

Walther Wuttke

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 26 June 1987)



■ RESEARCH

Super computer gets a big reception

RHEINISCHER MERKUR
Christ und Welt

A German super computer which is extremely economical on power has been included as potentially one of the three best in the world.

The assessment was in a survey by the Columbia University of New York, which looked at the 30 most advanced super-computer projects.

Professor Wolfgang Giloi, of the Mathematics and Data Processing Society (GMD) explained at a Press conference what made the German Suprenum (short for super-computer for numerical applications) project such an outstanding one.

He explained the two approaches to super computers. The leading American super computer, Cray II, is based on the idea that a super-computer must be equipped with the fastest circuits and the most advanced technology.

An installation of this kind cannot incorporate components with a high degree of integration: the power turnover would be so enormous that process heat could no longer be offset by a liquid coolant system.

Cray I, of which roughly 120 have been sold all over the world, worked with a single main processor. Cray II, first marketed two years ago, has four main processors arranged in series, so data can be processed in parallel and not just in sequence.

Processing speed is correspondingly stupendous: up to 1.2 billion arithmetical operations per second.

The German working party opted for a different approach: to use components four to five times slower but 100 times more integrated, with up to one million circuits per chip.

A super-computer along these lines uses only a quarter of the power required by a Cray II, so costly coolant systems can be dispensed with, making the whole installation less expensive.

To ensure that handling speeds were still fast the design was based on serial processing on a grand scale. The first Suprenum version consists of 256 micros arranged in series, each with the performance of a personal computer.

They can each process data simultaneously, thereby more than offsetting the disadvantage of slower handling speeds.

The final version of the Suprenum is designed to handle five billion computations per second, or four times as many as a Cray II.

The German super-computer was developed at the Research Centre for Innovative Computer Systems and Technologies (German abbreviation: First) in Berlin.

The centre, headed by Professor Giloi, is run jointly by the GMD and the Technical University of Berlin.

The first prototype was delivered to a company in Bonn at the end of May.

Next spring it is to be followed by a fully operational finished installation as a construction prototype for the manufacturers, Krupp-Atlas.

The main uses for which the super-computer has been designed include partial differential equations such as in current and air flow problems.

Computing such data is easier than carrying out wind tunnel tests. Besides, a number of problems, such as wind flow between vehicle underbelly and road surface, cannot be simulated in wind tunnels.

Despite the Suprenum project's imminent success (at an overall R & D cost of DM130m, one third for hardware, two thirds for software), project experts are already thinking in terms of an even faster successor model. Suprenum, Professor Giloi says, will only stand a chance of gaining a firm market footing if the customer knows it is not a one-off venture and will be further developed. Besides, project staff must live up to the claim made by a Krupp-Atlas executive who forecast: "Whatever the latest Cray model can do, we will supply the same performance at half the price."

Michael Globig

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 3 July 1987)

New wind tunnel blows a howling, sub-zero gale

What is claimed to be the most advanced wind tunnel in the world has been brought into operation in Cologne.

A technique in which the atmosphere inside the tunnel is cooled to minus 173 degrees Centigrade enables accurate testing at an earlier design stage than has been possible before.

Nasa has a similar tunnel at its research centre at Langley, but the operator of the Cologne tunnel, the Aerospace Research Establishment (DFVLR) says it has benefitted from Nasa's mistakes.

KKK, short for *Kryo-Kanal Köln*, will enable airliners to be tested at a much earlier design stage.

The new long-range versions of the European Airbus, the A 330 and A 340, will be tested in scale model at Porz. Carmakers, the railways and others are expected to use the new wind tunnel.

It is already clear that the tunnel will be fully booked next year when it becomes fully operational.

There used to be two main ways of using models to test aircraft handling characteristics at the design stage, says KKK project manager Günter Vieweger.



Everyone's blowing hot over this wind tunnel. (Photo: DFVLR)

The first was to build bigger wind tunnels, but sooner or later investment and running costs reached their ceiling.

The second was to step up air pressure in the tunnel, but this would soon also have gone as far as it could, the limit being about five times atmospheric pressure. At higher pressures the scale models were damaged by air flow.

A third approach, indicated by the first of the three Ks, is the cryogenic, or deep-freeze, technique.

The Cologne wind tunnel is deep-frozen to -173° C, a temperature at which much more accurate measurements can be taken than at room temperature — even with scale models.

In this way the wind tunnel itself can be kept small. The new tunnel is only 2.40m (8ft) indiameter, so aircraft models must not have a wing-span of more than 1.50m (5ft).

They must also have extremely smooth surfaces. Unevennesses must not been more than 16 thousandths of a millimetre.

Models are hand-made and expensive. A model for the Cologne wind tunnel can cost up to DM1m, or roughly twice the cost of a normal wind tunnel model.

But the DFVLR says the cost should, within a few years, be only 30 per cent higher than that of, say, conventional wind tunnel models.

The Cologne facility is only the second of its kind in the world. Nasa has a similar wind tunnel at its Langley research centre.

The German research establishment, Herr Vieweger says, has learnt from Nasa's mistakes and can fairly claim to run the world's most advanced wind tunnel.

It cost DM11.4m and has already shown, in principle, that it works. But calibration and other preliminaries must be carried out over the next six months or so before the facility can go into full operation.

Once experience has been gained in Cologne there are plans to build a larger, European cryo-wind tunnel costing several hundred million marks.

This big brother, also planned to be built in Cologne, will open up new vistas for European aerospace research.

Anatol Johansen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 10 July 1987)

■ EXHIBITIONS

Making up for lost time in south-Arabian art

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The first exhibition of Southern Arabian culture, from pre-historical times to the present, has been opened at the State Ethnological Museum in Munich.

The exhibition includes some of the most important artworks from the Yemen and excellent examples of Yemeni art that have had to be collected from all over the world.

Until recently the Yemen has been a very inaccessible country. The artefacts of its civilisation have not found their way into European and American museums as have artworks from Iran or the early history of the empires that developed in present-day Turkey.

Even today it is an adventurous undertaking to get to know about the country and its political set-up. The north of the region, where the most important historical buildings are to be found, has been closed to European influence most of this century so that this area is one of the poorest and least developed regions of the world.

In 1962 there was revolution and civil war that lasted seven years.

The result was that the region was divided into two independent states, the smaller, but much more populous, Yemen Arab Republic in the north, with its capital in Saana, and the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, dependent on the Soviet Union, in the south, with Aden as its capital. The British occupied Aden in 1839.

Museum officials in Munich have had to make contact with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the British Museum, London, the Louvre in Paris, the Art-history Museum in Vienna, the National Museum in Saana and the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin to be able to gather together representative exhibits for their Yemen art exhibition.

From an academic point of view there was a lot of catching-up to be done to gather information about Southern Arabian art and history.

Only over the past 20 years has the location and the real appearance of the ancient Southern Arabian inscriptions been known on which the chronology of the region's pre-history is based.

The dam at Marib, the most important technical construction in the whole of the Ancient World, has only been investigated over the past six years by German experts with support from the Volkswagen Foundation.

Based on this research the exhibition's punchy second title appears in an unfavourable light, "3,000 years of Art and Culture in Fortunate Arabia." It implies that the Yemen, as a cradle of civilisation, is comparable to other ancient oriental cultures, a civilisation in which the monumental culture of the Sabaean peoples originated in the 10th century BC.

Orientalists, many of them Biblical fundamentalists and not just the Americans, refer to the legendary visit, mentioned in the Old Testament, of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon, who mounted the throne in 965 BC. She is generally believed to have come from the Yemen and not from Ethiopia.

When did the Marib Dam originate? Or the larger-than-life sculptures in stone and metal, the huge religious buildings with porticos made of heavy monolithic pillars, plain buildings dominated by cubic geometrical designs in sharp contrast to the sense of space of later Islamic art.

French orientalist Jacqueline Pirenne has for decades cast doubt on the early dating of the Sabaean period that has been used for many years by German experts.

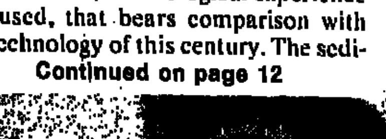
She refers to inscriptions, coins, the comments of ancient writers, economic history and observations of similarities in artistic and architectural history, and comes to the conclusion that the surviving Sabaean buildings and works of art are not earlier than the 5th century BC as has been believed until now, but originate from a period at the earliest contemporary with the golden age of classical Greece, which in fact had some artistic influence.

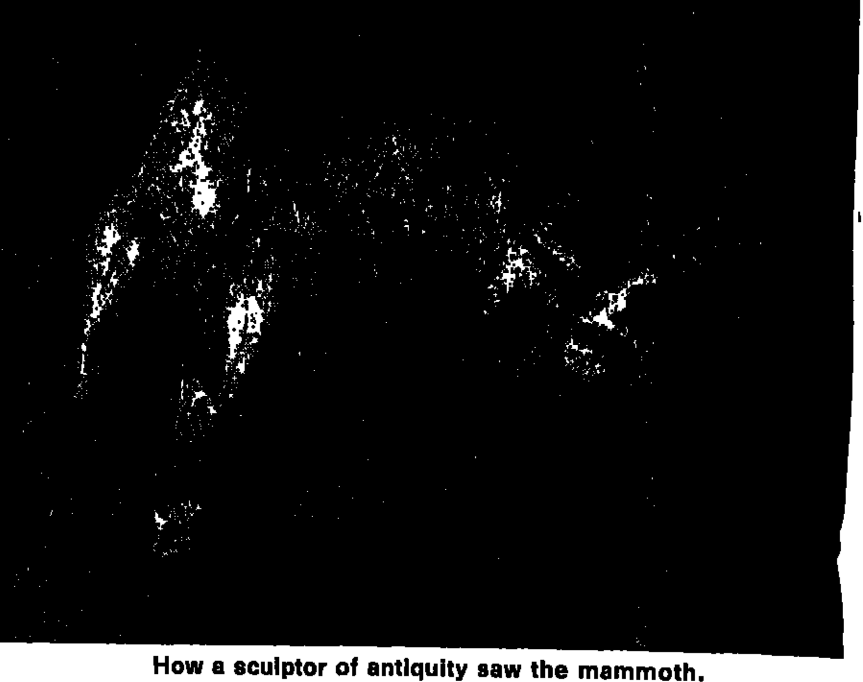
Using natural science methods of investigation on the Marib Dam it has been possible to establish more exact dating of the construction.

Based on investigations as yet unpublished, it is possible to say that the dam spanning the river valley, measuring 680 metres in length and 18 metres high, was not built to collect monsoon rainwater that fell twice a year for the intervening periods of drought, but to hold water back for short periods and to raise the level so that it could be channelled through the fields by a complicated distribution system. This unique, short-term flooding was sufficient to produce a harvest.

The system irrigated an area of 9,600 hectares. It is obvious that many centuries of mature, technological experience was used, that bears comparison with the technology of this century. The sedi-

Continued on page 12





How a sculptor of antiquity saw the mammoth.

(Photo: Catalogue)

Shapes, colours and textures from 30,000 years ago

The mammoth, cave lion and wild horse were the models for the first human artists who lived 30,000 years ago.

An exhibition has opened at the Tübingen Art Gallery entitled "The Beginning of Art 30,000 Years Ago," including more than 150 figures and engravings.

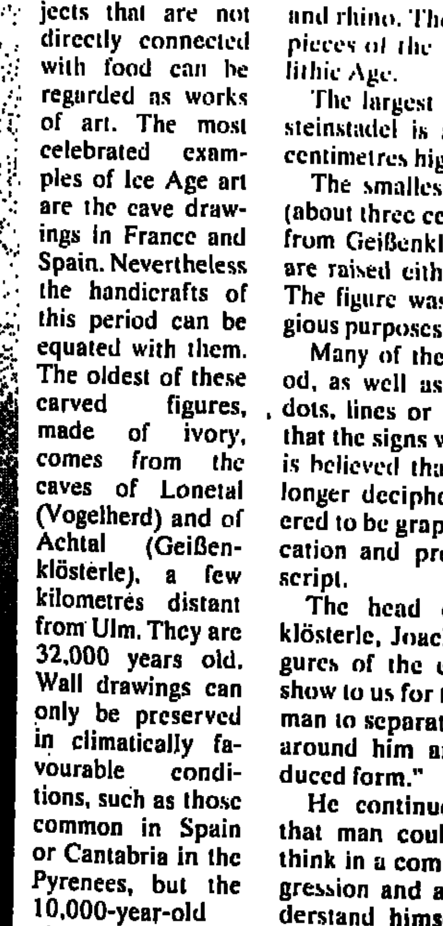
Most of them come from Central Europe, among other sites from excavations near Ulm.

Researchers have established that the Cromagnon race was the first to have the ability to give artistic form to objects and ideas but in pre-history it is often difficult to separate items as decorative artworks or utensils.

Probably the handicrafts of the Ice Age were exclusively concerned with such objects. Because there is no written evidence archaeologists have to speculate.

It has been generally agreed that objects that are not directly connected with food can be regarded as works of art. The most celebrated examples of Ice Age art are the cave drawings in France and Spain. Nevertheless the handicrafts of this period can be equated with them. The oldest of these carved figures, made of ivory, comes from the caves of Lonetal (Vogelherd) and of Achtal (Geißenklösterle), a few kilometres distant from Ulm. They are 32,000 years old. Wall drawings can only be preserved in climatically favourable conditions, such as those common in Spain or Cantabria in the Pyrenees, but the 10,000-year-old discoveries from caves in the southwest of Germany show that artists from years ago could use colour. There is a coloured stone, 33,000 years old, from Geißenklösterle.





Bronze statue from what is now South Yemen (BC7th or 8th century).

(Photo: Catalogue)

Animals were mainly shown in profile on cave walls, only very rarely man.

In several animal figures there are "bullet holes." The experts can only speculate. Do they conjure up a magical killing to ensure good hunting or do they serve as a kind of rehearsal for accuracy in the hunt?

Regularly there are several layers of pictures, one painted over the other. Was this just because the painting conditions were decisive? Sometimes the series of pictures give the impression of being Stone Age comics.

The oldest examples of handicraft were found in Lonetal and Achtal. The small figures from Vogelherd represent large herbivorous animals such as the mammoth, the bison, wild horse and rhino. They are among the masterpieces of the figure art of the Palaeolithic Age.

The largest figure from the Hohlensteinstadel is a man-lion creature, 28 centimetres high.

The smallest representation of man (about three centimetres) is a half-relief from Geißenklösterle. The man's arms are raised either in blessing or prayer. The figure was probably used for religious purposes.

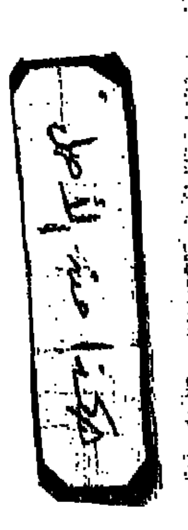
Many of the handicrafts of the period, as well as tools, are marked with dots, lines or notches. Experts believe that the signs were deliberately made. It is believed that they were messages no longer decipherable. They are considered to be graphical means of communication and predecessors of a form of script.

The head of the dig at Geißenklösterle, Joachim Hahn, said: "The figures of the early Palaeolithic Period show to us for the first time the ability of man to separate himself from the world around him and represent it in a reduced form."

He continued: "They also indicate that man could create abstract ideas, think in a complex way and express aggression and anxiety. Man tried to understand himself and his place in the world."

Claudia Gunsilius Kaltenbach

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 17 July 1987)



(Photo: dpa)

■ OPEN-AIR CONCERTS

More to do with the sound of cash than the sound of music

The air is warm and there is a smell of grass. From the pizza and waffle stalls there is a tempting aroma.

Pop-singer-actor Herbert Grönemeyer is performing to an audience of 7,000 at the open-air theatre in Leverkusen.

He said: "They only like the music when it is loud. You have to hit them in the belly."

The audience goes wild. "When the earth quakes under their feet then they forget that they are deaf."

One delighted fan cranes his neck and beats in time with the music with a stick.

Herbie, as Grönemeyer is called by his fans, has to perform for more than an hour. Afterwards, out of breath and soaked with sweat, he said that the audience had been wonderful.

"They did not go wild from the very beginning. They worked up to it. There is more of a kick in it that way," he said.

He enjoys performing in the open-air. He said: "People are quite different in the open. Open-air concerts are like a festival. There are children. You can move about."

Concerts in the open-air do not have the same quality about them as "performances" in a hall.

No other country has so many open-air concerts during the summer than the Federal Republic. Grönemeyer said: "We are tops in open-air concerts." He could have added that young people in this country have just a little more money than young people in other countries.

This summer will be the "open-air concert year of all time."

Martin Brem, a journalist with *Musik-Express/Sounds* said: "I get the impression that it is revenge for last year."

Last year most concerts had to be cancelled. America greats in the rock world, who provide most of the open-air events in this country, stayed at home — worried about terrorist attacks from Ghaddafi's Libyan revolutionaries.

To this could be added the fear of the consequence of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster. Fans were worried about sitting on the grass and preferred to say at home, so many promotors had to cancel performances.

The "Anti-WAAhnsinns-Festival" at Wackersdorf and the "Rock am Ring,"the Easter spectacle that has been staged in Nuremberg since 1985, were among the few excellent concerts that remained on the calendar. The rock concerts are being staged again and the miserable weather up to the end of June has not dampened the fans' enthusiasm.

Tens of thousands make their way to the stadiums and parks. The fans say that there is no such thing as bad weather only the wrong clothing.

Over 70,000 went to Cologne's Müngersdorf Stadium and 60,000 to the three-day event in front of the Reichstag in Berlin (excluding the fans listening the other side of the Wall).

Another 60,000 went to the Nürburgring, that was 60 years old this year. The festival's motto was "Sixty and no way quieter." About 100,000 turned up at Munich's trotting course at Riem.

There is no end to the summer season of open-air concerts. They are booked out up to the end of September.

There are only a few stars who are prepared to go on tour through the country. The most tireless is Tina Turner, the 50-year-old rock star. It is being said that in autumn she will settle in Cologne.

Joe Cocker is also a tireless performer, who has recently made a comeback and got into the hit parade charts.

Others on tour are David Bowie, The Eurythmics, Chris De Burgh, Bob Geldof, Iggy Pop and a whole row of less well-known groups, who have the thankless task of being in the open-air concert circuit as warmer-uppers for the "headliners" whose names appear in large letters on the posters.

What makes open-air concerts so attractive? It can't be the technical quality of the music. Many concerts are a cacophany of sound.

Two weeks ago in Munich, for instance, some of the sound equipment did not function properly because of the damp, so the sound seemed to be coming from nearby, as Martin Brem put it.

To this can be added the fact that people at the back can only see what is going on on stage with the help of binoculars.

The Berlin daily *Tagesspiegel* ironically wrote after the Reichstag spectacle that open-air concerts were just the thing for those who "liked something special, such as grilled sausage and beer, patchouli and jewellery bent from silver wire, in short, Nuremberg's Christmas Fair, Christkindlsmarkt, in July."

Jean-Baptiste Doerr of the Munich agency Mama Concerts admits that young people don't go to the concerts "primarily for the music."

He believes that the concerts satisfy a need for identity. He said: "There is an urge to get together with other people as a reaction to the anonymous and formal society in which we live."

People do not go to open-air concerts expressly for the artists performing but for the event itself.

Andreas Kraatz, a music journalist, believes that a sense of community is the most important consideration. "People want to be with others of their own kind, let themselves go and enjoy themselves for a while together."

He has noticed that there has been a move up the age scale in people attending because of this. Open-air conerts are no longer events for young people, but are increasingly attended by people "just before the mid-life crisis."

Kraatz said that he often had the impression that the old Woodstock days should be revived.

Woodstock was the great event that took place in August 1968 on a meadow belonging to Farmer Max Yasgur in Bethel in the state of New York. It was named after the nearby music colony of Woodstock and quickly became a legend in the pop music world.

About 400,000 young people listened to 32 bands over three days. Until then it was the largest music festival ever in the open-air, a legendary meeting of the Flower People generation.

Martin Brem points out that every other open-air concert is played up by its promotors as a "Woodstock Revival."

That would not be wrong, if Woodstock as a media event is implied. However the Woodstock spirit was also a distinctive business affair. A three-hour-long documentary film on the festival was a wild financial success internationally.

The two Woodstock sound-track LP records were also very successful.

After Woodstock promotors in West Germany saw that open-air concerts were a lucrative business, according to Eckard Holler, who, since 1970, has put on non-commercial festivals with a political slant in Tübingen's Club Voltaire.

Holler complains that the competition in commercial concert management has increased enormously over the past few years and business methods have got tougher.

Brem said that there was a lot of money that could be creamed off concerts, but pomotors keep silent about just how much.

The rumour is doing the rounds in Munich that the concert on the trotting course had a turnover of DM6m against costs, including fees, of DM5m.

According to Holler the result is that it is more and more difficult to get German groups and performers of standing to appear at non-commercial events.

Politically inspired concerts such as that for the peace movement or the anti-apartheid specacle would give the impression that most German pop and rock musicians reject the commercial racket, Holler said.

But appearances can be deceiving. The "Heimat und international Solidarität" festival last year in Tübingen had to be put on without any well-known German stars.

Holler said that singer-song writers such as Konstantin Wecker demand fees of between DM20,000 and DM50,000 per performance.

Herbert Grönemeyer admits that it is easy to give an impression of political involvement.

He said: "We appear once in Wackersdorf and then off we go. That is basically a swindle."

Indeed he only makes appearances now for a fee, but all the same this year he has not joined the open-air concert circus.

He puts on his own small, open-air concerts. He is one of the few German musicians who can do this alone.

Amongst all this, however, it is forgotten that the Federal Republic has a tradition of open-air concerts. The first concerts of this kind took place at the beginning of the 1960s at Burg Waldeck in the Hunsrück. No fees were paid then and audiences numbered between 2,000 to 3,000.

The performers included people such as Franz Josef Degenhardt, Hannes Wader, Reinhard Mey and Katja Ebstein. They talked about their work, held workshops and talked about themselves.

The only festival locations that continue to be associated with this tradition are Tübingen and Mainz.

This year, the absolute year of US rock, has finished off these relics of the past.

Holler said that Club Voltaire has debts of DM100,000 and will not be able to carry on.

Sometime, Martin Brem hopes, rock fans at the Nürburgring or in Munich's trotting course, will look "at the publicity and realise that it all has nothing to do with music but is about money-making."

Roland Kirbach

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 10 July 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Bureaucrats slowly sink as frog count begins

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

From this year, all protected animals kept in captivity must be reported. Virtually all pets are affected except cats and dogs, hamsters and budgerigars.

The regulation, under a previously ignored section of the 1985 Nature Conservation Act, has resulted in authorities being swamped with registration forms.

In at least one *Land*, Baden-Württemberg, officials say it will takes weeks to collate the information.

Protection of species regulations specify nearly 50,000 endangered species of flora and fauna. They include most amphibians and reptiles, all European birds and all wild mammals except a handful of rodents.

Compulsory registration is also required for a number of varieties of coral fish, extremely popular with aquarium fans because they are so colourful, — and nearly all parrots.

In case of doubt the Stuttgart authorities have advised the public to register a species too many rather than one too few.

This is sound advice. Failure to register a listed animal can cost the pet-lover a fine of up to DM20,000 — twice as much as the highest fine envisaged for failure to register in the May 1987 census of bipeds.

The aim of the pet census, ridiculed by critics as a "frog count," makes sense. It is to make life more difficult for illicit dealers in listed species.

That presupposes the authorities know just how many species Germans keep. And a census only makes sense if it is exhaustive.

This one isn't. That is already clear. The authorities are hopelessly overburdened. All listed pets were to have been registered by the end of June, when the collation was to have started.

There is no way the nature conservation officials can hope to list the tens of thousands of frogs and lizards, snakes, parrots and fish whose particulars concerned pet-lovers have sent in. Most files even have to be kept by hand.

The Act requires no fewer than eight data for each animal, including species, age, sex, origin, present location, use and markings.

Officials may or may not believe the details sent in by pet-lovers, but they can hardly check them for accuracy.

In Baden-Württemberg they have decided that discretion is the better part of valour. "We attach no importance to checking every little detail," says Siegfried Künkele, in charge of protection of species at the Environment Ministry in Stuttgart. Yet the *Länder* have no choice but to abide by Federal law, so they say they will be making spot, or random checks.



Give us a kiss. Munich man Gernot Hölscher in the bath with pet alligator Maxl, who has been in the household for 15 years. (Photo: dpa)

That is unlikely to worry the black sheep, animal dealers who are well able to cover their tracks. The Ministry and local authorities lack the manpower to enforce the law.

"In Baden-Württemberg alone," Herr Künkele says, "we could keep 500 people busy doing nothing but enforcing the legal provisions on protection of species."

The reality is another matter entirely. The regional authorities in Stuttgart, Tübingen, Karlsruhe and Freiburg have between them but a handful of specialists who could tell the difference between a tree-climbing frog from Central America and an Indian bullfrog.

Heads of department are usually lawyers by training. They would have to pore over encyclopaedias before they even knew either species existed.

Yet the law poses much more demanding problems. How is a South American rainbow boa to be marked when it sloughs every year?

How do you determine the sex of a spurred horn frog, a native of Colombia? How do you assess the age of a tropical butterfly fish?

Innumerable questions of this kind arise. Officials are left to find out the answers themselves. "Instructions," Herr Kuhn says, "have yet to be issued." They seem unlikely to be issued in a hurry.

Even if the pet census is ever completed, the problems will have no more than begun. The law requires notification within four weeks of changes such as a new owner or a change of address.

Notification is also required if a pet

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ment carried by the water meant that the dam had to be continually heightened. This meant that archeological layers remained undisturbed. These, together with pollen analysis and investigations of heavy metals carried in the waters and other dating methods, have made it possible to draw up a chronology, because the date of the destruction of the dam is known, 575 AD.

Investigations have shown that the dam was used without interruption for a period of 1,100 years, so that it must have been built at the end of the 6th century BC.

This has vindicated Jacqueline Pirenne's view totally. The compilers of the accompanying guide, who got to know about these reassessments in plenty of time, accepted this new dating and have used it although they have in some instances flunked the issue of precise dating.

Nonetheless, visitors will not bother themselves to much with chronology when they see the bronze statutes, alabaster busts and the Aleppo stones, certainly in memory of the dead, all over 2,000 years old, on show in the exhibition.

The really interested visitor will be concerned with other things. Primarily with the reconstructed bazaar of the present, covering a thousand metres, a perfect reconstruction of the Suq of At-Tawila, made possible by the the synthetic material styropor. This is much more authentic than anything that has been done previously.

It has been possible to give a total architectural impression: The visitor has the feeling of really wandering through alleyways and if one is not careful one stumbles on the clay soil and the litter, deliberately left there.

Looking up from the small market place, one sees antiquated electric cables and coloured-glass windows in the surrounding dwellings.

Doors open and the visitor is enticed to enter. He or she is in a kitchen, dominated by occidental cooking utensils. In contrast there is a luxurious room for the males of the house in traditional Arab style.

Further on in the shopping street there are jewellery shops, displays of cooking utensils (tea-pots of the Camel brand) and a tea-house with folding, metal stools with a picture of footballer Maradona on the wall.

Light has also been thrown on other aspects of life, and some understanding of the million it all cost.

There is a huge nomad tent in which a Bedouin water-bag appears besides an occidental stable lamp. There are also to be seen tribal dress, handicrafts, items dealing with health matters and a documentary report on the most important stages of historical research.

Certainly the masterworks of Islamic books are a considerable attraction. They are not under any kind of illumination, so as not to damage them, thus good eyesight is called for to appreciate them.

There are examples of work from the Rasulid dynasty (1228-1454) that blaze with light just as much as the many modern ear-rings, armbands, necklaces and bangles.

The exhibition is on display in Munich until the end of this year when it then moves on to Amsterdam and Vienna.

Hartmut Binder
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 3 July 1987)

■ MEDICINE

Data on Aids victims in computerised police files, says TV programme

DIE ZEIT

A current affairs television programme has revealed that information about Aids victims has been quietly filed in computerised police records.

This is another example of how personal rights relating to data storage are being eroded.

It is a loss of freedom and a step in the direction of a police state. Why is it necessary to store information about people with Aids? Because it is incurable, fatal and a threat to mankind?

The police think so. Police files at the *Bundeskriminalamt* and in CID computers in the *Länder* list data on wanted persons can include the category "infectious diseases."

The coordinating committee of the Federal and *Land* Interior Ministries decided it should be extended to cover Aids.

In May 1986 it was agreed that in cases where people on the "wanted" list were known to be suffering from Aids or, presumably, to be virus carriers, a specific reference was to be added to the abbreviation ANST (which in English would be INF, for infectious).

Bremen had reservations about the idea; Hamburg refused to have anything to do with it; but Bavaria was all for it.

Instead of the additional remark "careful: blood contact" it said the four-letter word "Aids" should be filed. Baden-Württemberg was less forthright but later followed suit in practice.

The Interior Ministers eventually approved the committee's recommendation, subject to consultation with the data protection commissioners of the *Länder*.

The coordinating committee was to draw up criteria for filing such references that specified what was meant by phrases such as "in certain cases" and "only to the extent necessary." It has yet to do so.

People on the police "wanted" list who are known to be suffering from the disease have nonetheless been Aids-listed since about the middle of last year.

On 1 July 1987 police files listed 343 people with the remark "careful: blood contact" or "Aids," the one being as damning as the other.

On 7 July Baden-Württemberg had 204 persons on file with the remark ANST (for: infectious), of whom 98 were specified as suffering from Aids.

Supporters of registration say it is an essential precaution to ensure that the police themselves are not inadvertently infected.

The police unremarkably agree, arguing that Aids is a killer disease. Police officers ought not to run the risk of contracting Aids in a scuffle with a suspect who was known to be infected.

Besides, now was the time to act. By the time there were, say, 40,000 or more Aids sufferers in the Federal Republic, pogroms and worse could well be the public response.

Opponents of registration argue that no case of a police officer contracting the virus in connection with his work has yet been known to occur. Infection is fairly unlikely in ordinary dealings with the public.

The police are not supposed to go in for brawls or to run the risk of being outnumbered when making arrests in any case.

The number of Aids sufferers who use their infection to resist arrest, being given to either violence or despair, is negligible.

The police would be ill-advised to feel secure in the "knowledge" that virus carriers were filed. Files couldn't be exhaustive and were never entirely up to date.

Criminals might even be tempted to pose as Aids sufferers to keep the police at bay and possibly evade arrest.

The problem facing anyone anxious to ensure the greater good of society and the state while making as few inroads into personal liberty as possible is that facts are in short supply where Aids is concerned.

Yet doctors and psychologists agree that the overwhelming majority of Aids patients are not given to violence. When the police arrived at a psychiatric clinic to collect a patient he burst into tears when he saw the police donning rubber gloves.

So the police argument that Aids is dangerous is only at first glance a plausible reason for maintaining computer files.

The constitutional right to self-determination where personal data are concerned is particularly sensitive in respect of medical data. The likelihood of infection is negligible, as is the number of violent Aids victims.

Aids "desperados" scratching and biting in a bid to resist arrest are mainly a figment of the police's imagination. None has yet occurred in practice.

Besides, how do the police come by the information that someone has Aids, and how reliable is the information? How secret will it be kept, for that matter?

It would need to be cross-checked, and that isn't going to do the reputations of health departments, prisons and hospitals the least good.

What has happened so far is typical of data protection in general. The police and Interior Ministers have decided, behind closed doors and with an uneasy conscience, on a plan: file first, ask afterwards.

The phrases "in certain cases" and "only to the extent necessary" are face-saving provisos, reassuring but meaningless.

They are supposed to be defined in consultation with data protection commissioners, but the commissioners are not even notified, let alone consulted.

A helpless group of people suffer from unnecessary discrimination in the shape of a police computer file remark that can readily be singled out to set up a separate file of registered Aids victims.

Herbert Schnoor, Social Democratic Interior Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, now feels his original approval of the proposed police procedure may have been a mistake.

Personal freedom is the loser because no-one has bothered to consider the implications and because files are maintained secretly and illegally and, what is more, to no really beneficial effect.

The real effect is group discrimination against people who deserve sympathy and care. Police legislation only permits precautions of this kind in cases of specific danger, and that's the way it should stay.

The Bavarian draft amendment to the Infectious Diseases Act is an example of the extent to which Aids hysteria can overshoot the mark.

The draft envisages compulsory registration of Aids patients who "fail to see reason" and pose a threat to others. Vaguer and more subjective criteria are barely conceivable. That is the way to undermine basic rights and freedoms.

The whole procedure can only be warranted to the strictly limited extent that the remark "careful: blood contact" (and not "Aids") may be added to police files on wanted persons (and them only) with a record of violence.

Anything more is a breach of civil rights and individual liberties of which police officers wearing rubber gloves are a striking symbol.

Hanno Kühnert
(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 July 1987)

Bavarian method comes under heavy fire

State secretary Peter Gauweiler of the Bavarian Interior Ministry was roundly condemned at a congress on "Political Perspectives in the Aids Era" held by the Greens in Nuremberg.

Herr Gauweiler is a champion of compulsory registration of Aids patients, of border checks and deportation orders and other strict measures.

US sexologist Erwin Häberle of the University of California summarised the criticism of Herr Gauweiler and Bavaria's ruling CSU.

He accused them of having destroyed the consensus among political parties, welfare organisations and self-help groups on how to handle the killer disease.

Professor Häberle said joint action was the only approach that stood any chance of effectively combating Aids.

Speakers from other countries outlined the shape a strategy might take which prevented any further spread of the disease without isolating people already infected.

In Switzerland, for instance, which has the highest level of infection in Europe (42 Aids patients per million inhabitants), joint action has been taken.

Two years ago the Federal Health Department, the Red Cross and organisations representing homosexuals, prostitutes, drug addicts and haemophiliacs joined forces, enabling public authorities and private organisations to adopt a joint approach.

They strictly oppose compulsory measures, preferring instead to rely on informing the public in general and risk groups in particular.

Unconventional poster campaigns, brochures, radio, TV and cinema advertising are devised by the Swiss *Aids-Hilfe* and largely financed by the state.

Roger Staub, president of the Swiss "umbrella" organisation, told the congress in Nuremberg's Meistersingerhalle:

"We are proud that we have not played on popular anxiety and not resorted to moralising. Objective information is our line."

How successful the Swiss approach has been will be seen this autumn when the first scientific findings are published.

San Francisco has shown that publicising the facts is an effective approach. It and the safer sex campaign have succeeded in dramatically reducing the rate of new infection with the HIV virus.

In contrast to Switzerland compulsory measures to combat Aids are publicly discussed in the United States, but Professor Häberle said hardliners were hopelessly outnumbered.

In addition to publicising the facts the Americans have drawn up strategies to combat discrimination against Aids virus carriers and patients.

In a manner typical of the United States, public authorities and private organisations have enlisted the support of leading companies.

The Bank of America, Professor Häberle said, now advertises the fact that it employs HIV virus carriers.

Firms don't make gestures of this kind out of the goodness of their hearts; they are under economic pressure to do so. Discrimination being illegal, they otherwise risk costly litigation and enormous damages claims.

The Swedes are not yet in a position to report a similar trend. Their anti-discrimination legislation only came into force at the beginning of the month. But advocates of compulsory measures are in the minority in Sweden too.

Stockholm Aids consultant Kjell Rindar made it clear where the difference lay, despite compulsory registration and other restrictions, between Sweden and Bavaria.

The atmosphere, he said, was different. The Swedish authorities accepted the fact that legislation was at times even circumvented.

Aids clinics and specialists not being a secret, other doctors sign HIV patients' sickness certificates for their employers.

In this way employers never get to know that a member of staff is suffering from immune deficiency. Registration is compulsory but anonymous — with further connivance.

Most Swedes who undergo blood tests give a bogus identity number — and the authorities are prepared to accept this ploy rather than risk no-one taking Aids tests for fear of the consequences.

Sweden and Switzerland, where compulsory registration — with anonymity guaranteed — is also being prepared, differ from the Federal Republic of Germany in another, very important respect.

People in both countries evidently place greater trust in the authorities. They do not suspect, as Germans do, that computer files of Aids virus carriers will promptly be set up and data divulged to enquirers.

This distinction, speakers at the Nuremberg congress were at pains to stress, was one that ought to make politicians in the Federal Republic sit up and think.

Inge Pröll
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 18 July 1987)

■ FRONTIERS

Dead prosecutors tell no tales: the Colombian cocaine connection

In August last year, a murder suspect called Werner Pinzner pulled out a pistol at Hamburg's police headquarters and shot public prosecutor Wolfgang Bistry, 40. He turned the gun on his wife, Jutta Pinzner, 39, and finally on himself. He died straight away. His wife and Bistry died later in hospital. An autopsy revealed traces of cocaine in Pinzner's body. His lawyer, Isolde Öchsle-Misfeld, who is in custody on suspicion of having aided and abetted Pinzner, was also in the room but was not injured. Here, Franz Wauschkuhn takes another look at the case with a year's hindsight and sees a sinister development — the emergence of organised crime in the drugs business for the first time in Germany. The suggestion now is that the Pinzner shooting was a premeditated act ordered by an organisation to silence a prosecutor who knew too much. It was part of an opening salvo in an attempt to take over the piecemeal drugs business and organise from Hamburg its importation and distribution. Wauschkuhn's article appeared in *Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt*.

When the General retired in early summer last year, he wanted to show that Hamburg's notorious St. Pauli district was not just a seething cauldron of vice, rip-offs and gambling halls.

The General, Ludwig Rieland, for many years the head of Davidswache, the police station on the Reeperbahn, wanted the area to be seen as a centre for harmless entertainment with cafes, exotic restaurants and places where you could dance to anything from old-time jazz to reggae.

It was a transformation the media was getting behind, conjuring up old romantic memories of St. Pauli with travelling entertainers, vaudeville shows and soubrettes.

The General's hopes were high. Public pressure was being applied to Hamburg's Social Democrat administration to do something to help commercial rejuvenation instead of letting the area decay.

All these high hopes ended with a bang on 29 July last year: right inside Hamburg's police headquarters building a man being held in investigative custody pulled out a Smith & Wesson .38 calibre revolver and shot public prosecutor Wolfgang Bistry, his own wife, Jutta Pinzner, and finally shot himself.

The gunman, Werner Pinzner, 39, died straight away. His wife and Bistry died later. A stenographer, two unarmed policemen and Pinzner's defence counsel, Isolde Öchsle-Misfeld were unhurt.

In a flash, everything had changed. Until now, the name of Pinzner was significant only to newspaper reporters.

In January of last year, 12 people from Hamburg's underground were being held in investigative custody. Nine being held on drugs charges were regarded as small fish. The other three were Josef Nusser, 36, a brothel owner, who was alleged to have incited the other two, Pinzner and Armin Hockauf, to murder.

Pinzner had been surprised at his home by a special operations squad and he was immediately charged with five murders. This was taken with a pinch of salt by the public, who were used to the tabloid Press blowing out of all proportion the investigations of the Hamburg police.

Time and time again, an arrested Mr Big turned out to be a pip-squeak brothel owner. Quarrels between cliques of pimps were presented as battles between big-crime gangs. The attitude was that the police were breaking up nonexistent organised crime.

But, despite denials by police, rumours of tightly organised crime in Hamburg had taken root and would not go away. Not the fantasy crime the police kept breaking up, but a genuine new type of organised crime that belongs in the public mind more to New York and Chicago rather than anywhere in Germany.

Antique thefts were one field. Drugs were another. And sex. There were whisperings about the existence of films showing politicians and policemen in compromising scenes.

The rumours flourished and enough came to light to fire them. For example, two senior members of the city's planning authority were discovered to have invested in big brothels.

The Pinzner affair shocked an unsuspecting public. What happened while he was in jail and the background, as far as it could be established, was something new.

His wife, Jutta, brought him cocaine in his cell. In return, he gave her hashhish which he had managed to obtain from other sources.

His treatment was lenient because he was a major source of evidence against the others in custody. There had been threats against him from the St. Pauli underworld. Because of this, his food was brought from a hotel rather than from the prison canteen.

But he was in no way isolated. In July, he was suddenly put on prison food. Then the judge who heard the custody application ruled, over the objections of the prison, that Pinzner should take a communal free period together with 25 other prisoners. In view of the threats, its was an amazing decision from the bench.

On top of this: counsel Öchsle-Misfeld spoke with him 73 times during his 115-day stay in custody. His wife visited him 12 times. And when Pinzner was being interviewed, Jutta Pinzner was always there as a psychological prop. His lenient treatment meant that the checks on what was brought him were lax.

Pinzner did not want to be labelled as a small-time killer. He wanted to go down as a Big Killer. At least this is what his message seemed to be. He was frank about his murders both with prosecutor Bistry and with his relatives. He said in letters that another six killings could be added to his list. "Tell that the the Press," he wrote in one letter. "They're so red hot on this you don't believe it." Whether that was the truth or the imaginings of a criminal mind sodden with cocaine in not known.

One of the most spectacular murders that remains to be solved (was it on Pinzner's account?) happened in a dive in the Reeperbahn called "Zur Ritze" (slang for a woman's genitalia) where pimps meet. On 28 September, 1981, a certain Peter Schroer was executed in front of beer-drinking customers. Naturally, nobody saw anything.

How could Pinzner go on killing without being suspected? One reason is that he was underestimated.

His brutality was well known. He had been jailed for 10 years for the "manslaughter" of a Hamburg businessman during a holdup of a Hamburg supermarket, but was nevertheless regarded only as a junior member of the underworld.

It was only when he was released on parole that police realised what sort of criminal they were up against. He and an accomplice held up a money courier in Hamburg's inner city. In July 1984, when he again out on parole, he shot dead an Israeli called Jehoda Arzi, an underworld figure with international connections and the owner of brothels in Constance and Kiel.

The Killer of St. Pauli was a social failure whose original simple aims in life became lost in a welter of luxury. He went to *Hauptschule*, the most rudimentary of the secondary school system and managed to get through. He was a volunteer in the Bundeswehr but came unstuck because of his insubordination.

He was a butcher's apprentice for a while and then went to sea as a ship's kitchen hand. He became a waiter and became unemployed. He fell from petty crime into serious crime.

He paraded his symbols of status: a fighting Mastino bulldog was constantly at his side. "Dogs don't lie," he said. "I prefer them to most people."

His view of life became cynical. "I am God. They say God controls life and death. Look, I have controlled it. I have (caused) life to be born and I've taken life." That was in a letter to Jutta.

But he didn't murder for the sake of it. He saw himself as a professional.

Even the shooting in police headquarters was probably on contract. Bistry knew too much about the intrigues of some big underworld figures. The pay off for Pinzner was said to be a monthly aallowance of 1,500 marks for his daughter, Birgit. Although it was originally thought that the contract may have been given by brothel-owner Josef Nusser, known as Viennese Peter, now evidence has emerged that a brothel owner arrested in Costa Rica called Reinhard Klemm was the real person behind the executions series of.



Werner Pinzner . . . the St. Pauli killer. (Photo: dpa)

Some policemen believe that Klemm is one of the German organisers of the cocaine industry in Columbia whose aim was to set up and run from Hamburg the cocaine distribution business.

Hamburg is the logical place to run the business from. It is the biggest container port in West Germany and, after Frankfurt, the biggest airfreight transhipment point in the country.

In contrast to Amsterdam and Frankfurt, the police have little experience? large-scale drugs crime and also who have to reckon with a generation of judges and lawyers who think it their duty to trip up the police.

This can be seen from the total misjusdgments by judge and public prosecutor in the Pinzner case. Even more curious is the role of the defence counsel, Frau Öchsle-Misleld. She failed to keep any distance between herself and her client. Far more objective defence counsel than this intelligent but fragile lawyer have been duped by the Hamburg underworld.

An overestimation of her own cleverness and ever-increasing competition among lawyers for work possible prompted her to take on the case. The accusation by the underworld that she demanded money to keep Pinzner quiet is a normal thing for the underworld to do.

The next thing is for the police to try and convince a court that they have enough stickable evidence against her to keep her in custody while the investigations go on.

It is, among other things alleged that she was the one who smuggled in the revolver. That means potentially an accessory to murder.

Behind the case of Pinzner is shown the relief of a dangerous development. In Hamburg, the police are on the defensive. The detectives are the watched just as as much as the watchers. The underworld is following their every step. Certain investigators and their families are being given special protection.

What so far has been a feature of life in Palermo, Chicago and New York has become part of Hamburg.

Franz Wauschkuhn

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 July 1987)

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dies — or gives birth to young. Law-abiding owners of pet frogs have to notify the authorities within a month how many tadpoles have gone on to become young frogs.

Jokers add that the only missing link is a statutory requirement to notify the authorities if a pet falls sick.

One of the few exceptions to the rule is sufficient to show what nonsense the well-meaning legal provisions are.

Catching an ordinary frog and keeping it in a jam-jar — a practice animal-lovers all agree to be barbarous — is not notifiable, if only because no-one is legally required to submit evidence that incriminates himself.

Herr Künkele concedes that there is bound to be a certain number of cases that go unreported.

In reality, officials can but hope they stay unreported. The letter of the law specifies that all pets kept illegally must be confiscated. If they were, zoos would be bursting at the seams in next to no time.

Andreas Müller

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 29 June 1987)

■ HORIZONS

Beate Klarsfeld, the Nazi hunter who boxed a Chancellor's ears

DIE ZEIT

Beate Klarsfeld, possibly West Germany's most celebrated Nazi war crimes hunter, brought in the gilded coffee cups on a silver tray.

She stroked the two collie dogs and asked her daughter Lida what she wanted for lunch.

She lives in a gleaming home with furniture in the French style with oil paintings of Venice's Grand Canal on the wall.

I cast my mind over the many newspaper photographs I had collected about her over the past 19 years: Beate Klarsfeld being arrested in Berlin; Beate Klarsfeld in front of the Cologne remand prison; Beate Klarsfeld chained to a park bench in La Paz, Bolivia and more recently with a bouquet of flowers at the Barbie trial in Lyons.

I could not quite relate these pictures to the perfect housewife who was sitting opposite me. She hardly smiled at all when I said that only twice in the past 20 years had people spontaneously shaken my hand as a German when I had been abroad.

The first time was in 1968 in Paris after she had boxed the ears of the then Chancellor, Kurt-Georg Kiesinger, because of his Nazi past, and later in New York after Willy Brandt knelt before the monument to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto.

Frau Klarsfeld is well aware that these two gestures, still controversial in Germany, have had a wide influence abroad. Distinctions in attitudes towards Germany were being made after the famous slap on the Chancellor's face. Twenty years after the war she changed the widely held view of German hordes marching lined up in rows.

She is still disappointed at the German students who cheered at her action then. She said: "Unfortunately I have not been able to find any comrades-in-arms. Collecting information was too much of a chore for the 1968 generation of students, despite the fact that collecting information was a vital prerequisite to bringing the murderers who just sat behind a desk and were then doing very well thank you to justice."

The students wanted to change society without putting in the necessary effort before-hand to achieve this, she said.

"It was much simpler to demonstrate against American 'fascism' in Vietnam or the rights of the Palestinians than for them to come into conflict with their own parents. It was easier to despise their fathers than to demand that they should atone for their crimes."

Frau Klarsfeld was born in Berlin. Her father was a soldier. In 1960 she went to Paris as a green au-pair girl.

I asked her why she had given her life, unasked, to tracking down Nazi criminals?

She pointed to a photo of her French mother-in-law. "Her husband was murdered in Auschwitz by the Germans. The people responsible for the deportation of 80,000 French Jews went unpunished and live amongst us still. That is a mockery of the victims and their children," she said.

She is now 48. She has short-cut, red hair and it is hard to fathom what is going on in her head. Her voice has a dull timbre to it. She is not too fond of talking. She prefers to bring out documents from the adjoining room. She did the same later in her husband Serge's law office. They represent the life's work of Beate and Serge Klarsfeld.

For years they have collected lists of the names of murdered French Jews. The list is as thick as the Paris telephone book and is much more than a historical source book.

Pictures are often shown on television of the mass graves and piled up bodies of the murdered that seem to be an abstraction without any relation to the human element involved. In the Klarfelds' list, in page after page, attention is drawn to individuals, people who once had a name, address, occupation and children.

Indeed they did once live in this world and Beate and Serge Klarsfeld have given them back the identity of which they have been robbed, if only in black on white.

She said: "It was the only one of our projects whose income covered the costs. Surviving relatives could buy a grave-stone for as little as 110 francs."

Her laconic way of expression would have perhaps shocked me, if the picture book of the children of Izieu was not lying in front of me, laughing little boys and little girls posing for a group picture, letters such as the one from Renate Krochmal, aged 9 from Vienna. "Dear Uncle, Aunt and Klara, I would love to go to America. Love and kisses."

Serge and Beate Klarsfeld have collected information from all over the world that represents a monument to the 43 children who were deported, on Barbie's orders, from the Jewish home near Lyons.

They discovered a telegram from Barbie, dated 6 April 1944, to the commander of the security police which read: "The children's home Colonie Enfant at Izieu-Ain was raided this morning. In all 41 children between the ages of three and 13 were arrested. We did not find any cash or valuables..."

The prosecution is making use of this document along with the testimony of 80 plaintiffs whom Serge Klarsfeld represents. It is one of the most important pieces of evidence in the Barbie trial in Lyons. Barbie, known as the "Butcher of Lyons."

Beate Klarsfeld regards the deportation of Klaus Altmann, alias Barbie, from Bolivia to France as the most important achievement of her many campaigns.

She discovered Barbie in Bolivia as far back as 1971. But it took ten years to get him into that prison that he had used as a place to torture his victims.



10-year battle to get Barbie . . . Beate Klarsfeld. (Photo: dpa)

She said: "He must be put behind bars for life."

Are the Klarsfelds concerned with atonement, retaliation, revenge, punishment in the many campaigns they have waged all over the world, sometimes in a spectacular manner?

Beate Klarsfeld said that the press had coined the expression "Nazi hunters." She and her husband had always fought against this label. She says most of the criminals are still openly living in society.

They recently found the name of one, Kurt Lischka, in the Cologne telephone book, but she is satisfied the list is getting shorter.

As a mother, how had she taken the risks when she demonstrated against anti-semitism in Moscow and Prague and when she was taken prisoner by the Syrian Army because she protested against the inhuman treatment of Israeli POWs?

"I had no worries, except that perhaps we would not achieve our goals. Care disappears when you concentrate fully on a campaign. I only had childish, elementary worries. I was more frightened of a dark cellar than being taken prisoner by the Syrian Army."

She is not so controlled when it comes to discussion of her native country. She has not had a good reputation in Germany since her name hit the headlines.

Since boxing the Chancellor's ears she has been regarded by German politicians as an exhibitionist or someone mentally ill.

Former federal Minister Ernst Lemmer said at the time of the Kiesinger incident that she was "a discontented woman."

Bonn's attitude has not changed much over the years. The West German ambassador to France sent no congratulations when she was awarded the Legion of Honour by the French Foreign Minister in 1984.

What is the reason for German uneasiness about Beate Klarsfeld, who was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the Israeli Knesset?

Beate Klarsfeld will not answer. Perhaps can't. She is not concerned with reasons. On the other side, all Germans feel in some way to be victims — the actual evil-doers, the children of the evildoers, the women who cleared away the post-war rubble, the grandchildren.

Frau Klarsfeld would like to be accorded some honour. She wants her two French children to be proud that they have a German mother.

Barbara Ungeheuer

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